

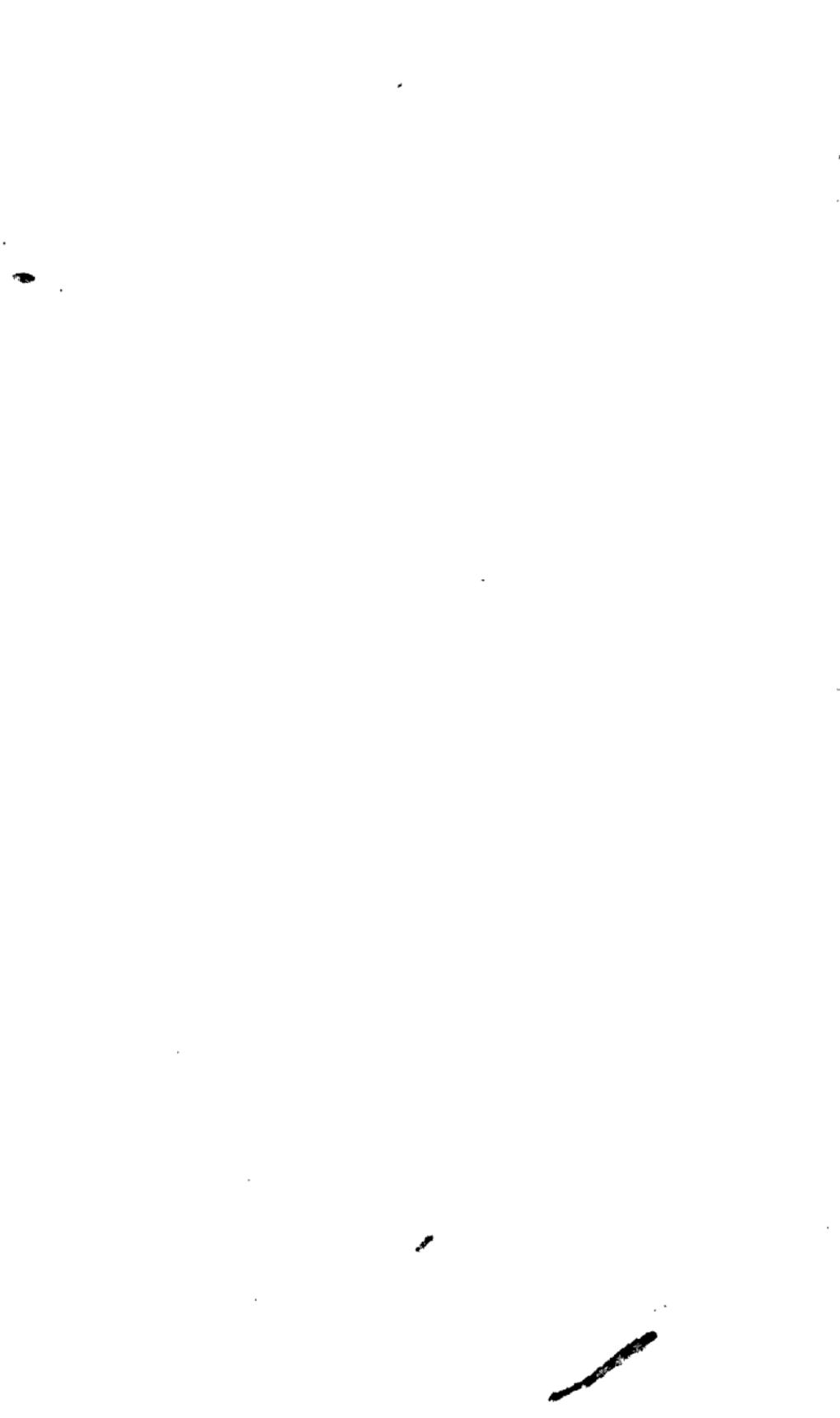
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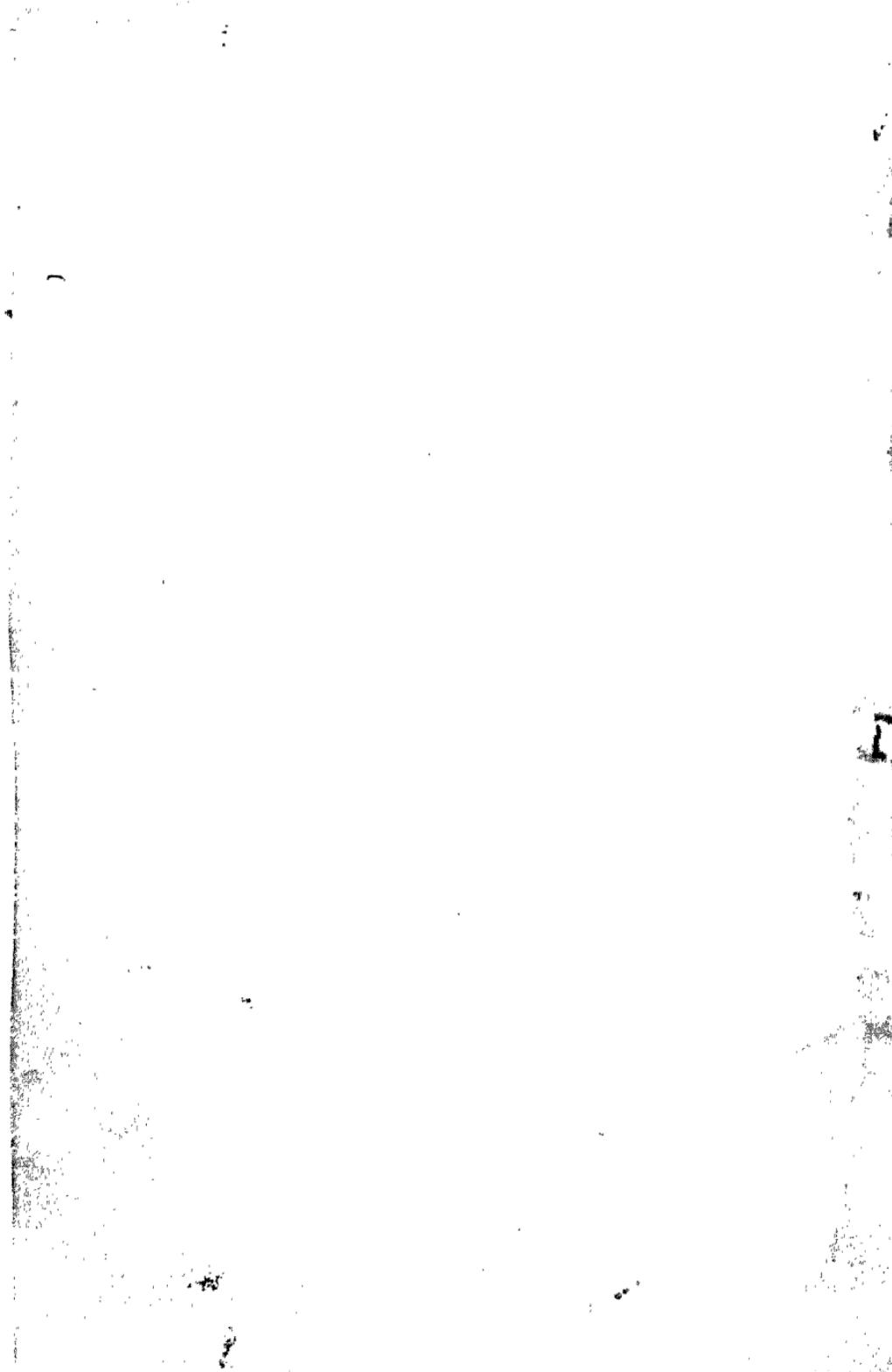
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~~Believe it or not~~

John





STUDIES IN ANCIENT HINDU POLITY

(BASED ON THE ARTHASĀSTRA
OF KAUTILYA)

VOL. I.

19175

BY

NARENDRA NĀTH LAW, M.A., B.L.

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WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

ON THE AGE AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE ARTHASĀSTRA
OF KAUTILYA

BY PROF. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A.

CEMCHEAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR, AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING," ETC.

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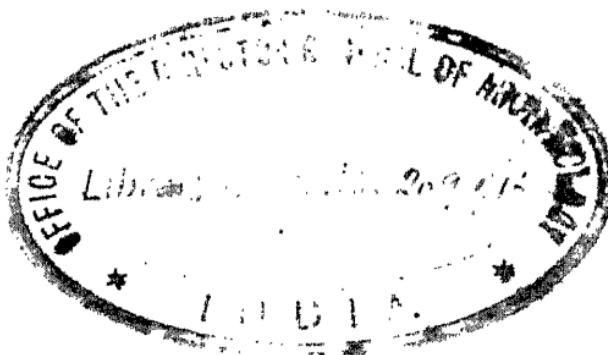
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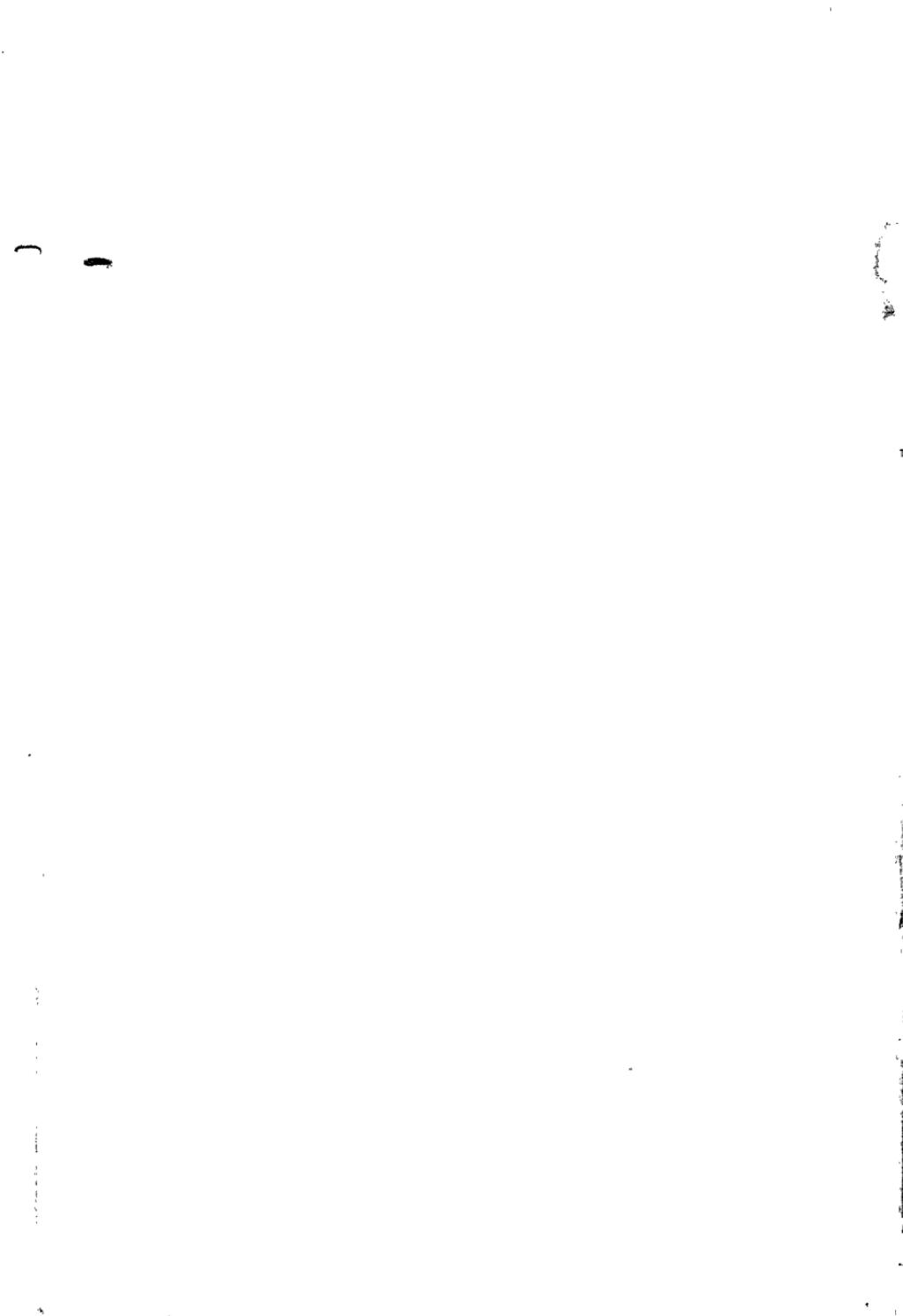
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TO
MY FATHER
THE HON. RAJA RESHEE CASE LAW, C.I.E.
THIS SMALL TRIBUTE
OF
GREAT AFFECTION





PREFACE

IN the present work an attempt is made to describe some of the features and activities of the civil government of the ancient Hindus, as outlined in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Such an attempt will, I trust, be useful in throwing some light on the secular and practical achievements of the ancient Hindus, as distinguished from the spiritual and intellectual, which latter are more widely studied and appreciated than the former.

I am, however, painfully conscious of the difficulties with which the subject is beset. The quaint and terse language of Kauṭilya, combined with the technical terms used by him, adds much to the difficulties. The Commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmī is fragmentary and confined only to a portion of the Second

Book. I should, however, acknowledge my indebtedness to the edition and translation of the work by Mr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., whose pioneering work has paved the way for the investigations of other scholars.

My deep gratitude is due to Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., Premchand Roychand Scholar and author of "A History of Indian Shipping," for valuable help rendered and for the Introduction he has written to this work. I am also thankful to Pundit Jogen-dranath Tarka-Vedânta-tîrtha and Pundit Vihdusekhar Sastri for their kind assistance, and to my uncle, Mr. Nanda Lal Dey, M.A., B.L., author of the "Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India," for his valuable suggestions. My acknowledgments are likewise due to Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, M.A., editor of the *Modern Review*, for his courteous permission to reproduce such portions of this work as appeared in his *Review*, and to Messrs. Surendra Nath Kumar, B.A., and Hirralal Roy, A.B., for their kind assistance; also to my brother Mr. Surendra Nath Law, and to Messrs. Kumud Lal Dey, Nalin Chandra Paul, B.L., Satya Churn Law,

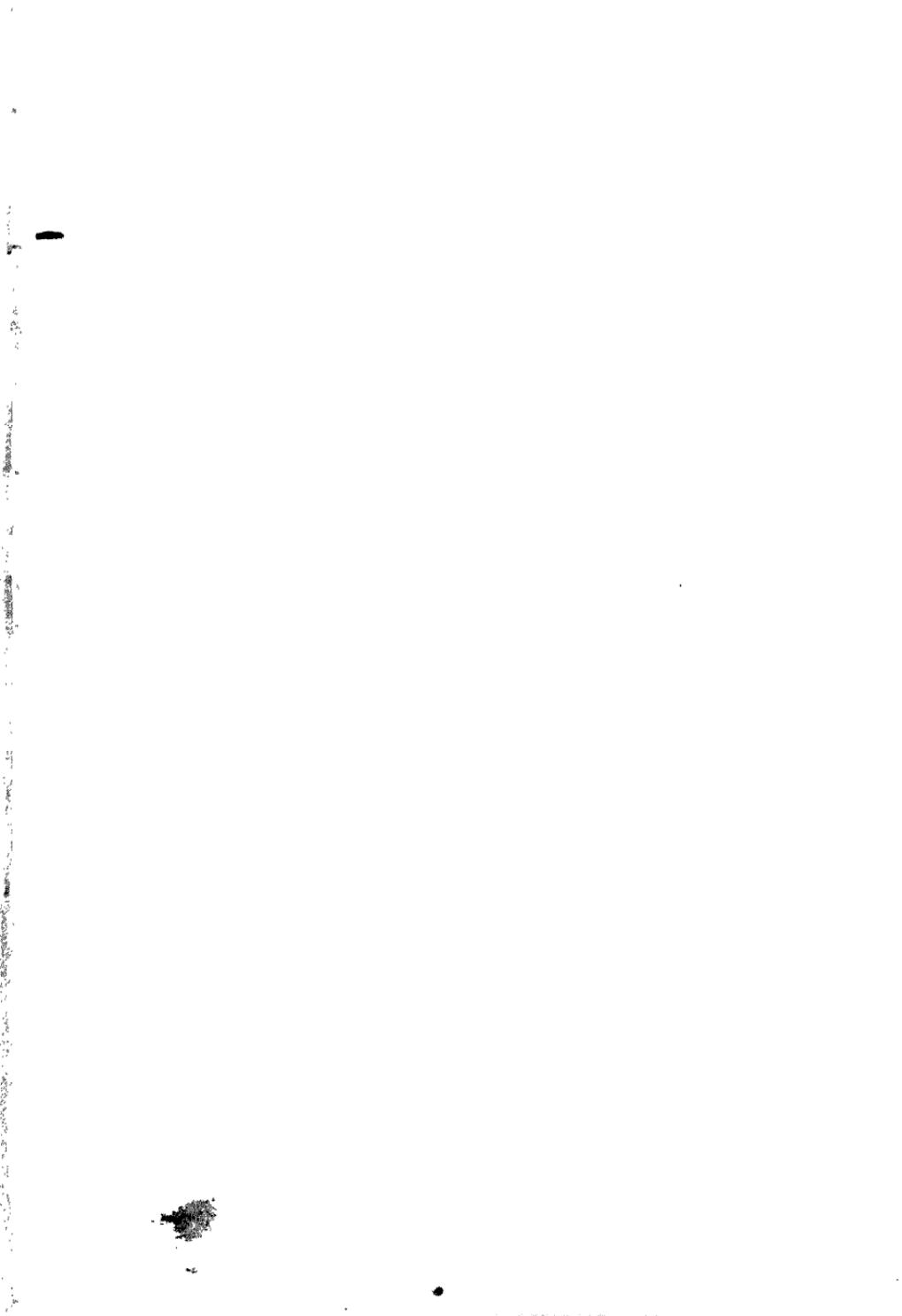
M.A., and Moni Mohun Sil, for the help I have received from them.

I am fully conscious of my own limitations and the difficulty of the task before me ; and I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if my inadequate performance secures for the subject a proper attention and treatment.

NARENDR A NATH L AW.

96, AMHERST STREET, CALCUTTA.

August, 1913.



AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON THE AGE AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA.

By PROF. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A.,
Premchand Roychand Scholar, Author of *A History of
Indian Shipping*, etc.

IN response to the request of Mr. Law, I have much pleasure in saying a few words on the probable age of the now famous work, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the importance of which for the history of culture can hardly be overestimated. To students of Indian history in particular, an approximate determination of the period to which the *Arthaśāstra* relates itself is a most pressing problem demanding immediate solution, for on that will depend much of the reconstruction of early Indian history, as well as a true interpretation and appreciation of ancient Hindu culture. The *Arthaśāstra*, as will be amply evident from Mr. Law's *Studies*, is a unique record of the secular and practical activities and achievements of the Hindu genius as distinguished

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from the intellectual and spiritual, of which there is so much evidence in the extant Sanskrit and Pâli literature, and of which so much has been said and written ; and a proper study of this most interesting work is well calculated to remove one of the widespread and deep-rooted misconceptions about ancient Hindu civilization, which is supposed to have distinguished itself only in the sphere of thought, and to have miserably failed in that of action.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to summarize the arguments which may be advanced in support of the traditional and widely current view that the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya is the work of Chânakya, the Minister of Chandra Gupta, and therefore belongs to the fourth century B.C.

That Kauṭilya and Chânakya are names of the same person is well known to students of Sanskrit literature. In fact, Chânakya is known by several names,¹ which are thus

¹ Śankarārya in his *Jayamani galatikâ* on Kâmandaka refers to the names thus : “ विष्णुप्रायेति सच्चारिकी चंचा, चाषकः कौटिल्य इति जन्मभूमि गोव निबन्धने । ” Bâchaspati Miśra in his तात्पर्य टीका calls Bâtsyâyana, the author of *Nyâya-*

enumerated by Hemachandra in his *Abhidhā-nachintāmani*:

वात्स्यायने मङ्गलागः कुटिलाचणकामजः ।

द्रामिलः पच्छिंखसामी विष्णुगुप्तोऽनुलब्ध सः ॥

Equally well known is the fact of Chāṇaka's connexion with the Emperor Chandra Gupta Maurya, with its political consequences. Evidence of this may be derived from a variety of sources. Thus the *Vishṇupurāṇa* narrates in its prophetic style that "the Brāhmaṇa Kauṭilya shall root out the nine Nandas, inaugurating Chandra Gupta in the kingdom."¹ So also the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* has the following: "A Brāhmaṇa will destroy these nine Nandas,

bhāshya, by the name of Pakshilaswāmi. Thus he says : "अथ भगवता अच्चपादेन निःश्रेयसहेतीशाले प्रणीतेष्युत्पादिते च भगवता पच्छिंखसामिना किमपरमविश्वते यदर्थं वार्त्तिकारन्मः ॥" The *Vṛttika* is, of course, the well-known Commentary on the *Nyāyabhāshya* by Udyotakara, who wrote it in order to overcome the sophistical arguments and mystifying logic of the Buddhists [“कृतार्किकध्वान्म-निराचरहेतोः । करिष्यति तस्य भया निबन्धः ॥”] headed by Dīnāṅga as explained by Bāchaspati Miśra [“कृतार्किकादिष्ट्नाग-प्रभतयः”]. This statement, by the way, places the age of the *Nyāyabhāshya* also before that of Buddhist propaganda dating from Asoka.

¹ XXIV, 6-7: “नवैव तान् नन्दान् कौटिल्यो ब्राह्मणः समुद्दिष्यति . . . कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तं राज्येभिषेच्यति ।”

who will inaugurate Chandra Gupta as king.”¹ There are also similar references in the *Matsya*, *Vâyu* and *Brahmânîda* Purânas to Kauṭilya’s bestowal of the sovereignty on Chandra Gupta.² In his *Sthavirâvalîcharita*, or “Lives of Jaina Patriarchs,” Hemachandra gives an account of Chânakya which, though legendary, agrees with the Purânas in making him the extinguisher of Nanda supremacy and supporter of Chandra Gupta. In the *Nandisûtra*, again, which is a Jaina religious work in Prâkrit language, Chânakya is extolled for the signal success which he achieved as Finance Minister of Chandra Gupta. In the Jaina work *Rishi-mandalaprakaranavrittî* there is a reference to the alliance of Chânakya with Chandra Gupta, who seized the kingdom by slaying Nanda. Among the Buddhist works recording the same fact may be mentioned Buddhaghosha’s Commentary, *Samantapâsâdikâ*, on the *Vinaya Pitaka*, as well as the *Mahâvansatîkâ* of Mahâ-

¹ II, i, 11-12: “नवनन्दान् दिजः कस्ति प्रपत्नामुद्दरिष्यति . . . स एव चन्द्रगुप्तं वै दिजो राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति।”

² “कौटिल्यः चन्द्रगुप्तं ततो राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति” [*Matsya*] and “चन्द्रगुप्तं नृपं राज्ये कौटिल्यः सापयिष्यति” [*Vâyu* and *Brahmânîda*].

nāmāsthavira. Kāmandaka [*Nītisāra*] also refers to the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty and the inauguration of Chandra Gupta in a very forcible passage.¹ The same fact, as is well known, has supplied the basis of the drama *Mulrākshasa*. Finally, we may refer to the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* itself, as set forth in one of its concluding verses, where it is stated that the *Arthaśāstra* is composed by “him who with angry determination rescued (the Brāhmaṇa’s) learning and (the Kshatriya’s) art, as also the mother-country, from the clutches of the Nanda kings.”²

¹ यस्याभिचारं वचेण वच्छ्वसनं सेजासः ।
पयात् मूलतः श्रीमान् सुपर्वी नन्दपर्वतः ॥
एकाकी मन्त्रशत्र्या यः शत्र्या शक्तिष्ठरोपसः ।
आजहार नृचन्द्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय सेदिनीम् ॥ [I, 4-5.]

[“Salutation unto one whose fire of energy was like the flash of lightning, and through whose magical powers, that resembled in potency and fury the thunderbolt itself, the widespread, prosperous, powerful, mountain-like dynasty of Nanda was overturned.”]

² येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भुः ।
अमर्षेणोक्तान्याश्च तेन शास्त्रमिद्वातम् ॥

The “rescue of learning” would be either a vain boast or would seem to favour the traditional Indian view, widely current among orthodox Hindu Pandits and scholars, that all the three works, viz. *Nyāyabhashya*, *Kāmasūtra*, and *Arthaśāstra*, which

So much about the fact of the political association of Kauṭilya with the Emperor Chandra Gupta. We shall now consider the evidence proving that the fact of Kauṭilya's authorship of *Arthaśāstra* is well known in Sanskrit literature. The two principal sources of that evidence are (1) the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka and (2) the *Dasakumāracharita* of Dandī, both of which accept the genuineness of the *Arthaśāstra* as the production of Chāṇakya. Kāmandaka, at the beginning of his *Nītisāra*, says: "Salutation unto the learned Vishṇu Gupta, who raised the ambrosia of political science out of the vast ocean of the *Arthaśāstra*. As this science is very much liked by kings, I shall make a brief but clear abridgment of the treatise of that learned scholar who was a

are acknowledged authorities in their respective subjects, had a common author, and that that author was Chāṇakya. Compare in this connexion the enumeration of Chāṇakya's names in *Abhidhānachintāmani* quoted above. The boast about "rescue of learning" is also supported by Kāmandaka, who refers to Chāṇakya's encyclopaedic learning in such phrases as "यो चमुच्च
भूति विश्रुतः," "वेदविर्द्ध वरः," "विद्याना पारद्वच्छः," etc. Another significant fact to be noted in this connexion is the identity of numerous passages in the three works named above, pointing to their common origin. The whole subject, however, deserves a critical investigation.

master of all branches of knowledge."¹ It is hardly necessary for our present purpose to prove by quotations that with Kāmandaka the work of Kauṭilya was not a mere tradition but an actual masterpiece, which has been throughout his *Nītisāra* used as his original authority, even supplying many of his words and phrases. Nay, Kāmandaka has, it may be said, abridged by making omissions: the entire portions of the second, third, fourth and fourteenth Books of the *Arthaśāstra* find no place in the *Nītisāra*. Thus the work of Kāmandaka supplies very good evidence to show that the work of Kauṭilya was a reality. The second piece of evidence bearing on the point is furnished by the *Daśakumāracharita* of Daṇḍī. In the *Somadatta-utpattikathā* [l. 1] there is a reference to both Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka as authorities on *Nītiśāstra*,² while in the eighth chapter of Part II occurs the following remarkable reference to Kauṭilya³:

¹ दर्शनात् तस्य सदृशो विद्यानां पारहच्चनः।
राजविद्या प्रियतया संचित्प्रथमर्थवस् ॥ [I, 7.]

² “कौठित्य-कामस्त्कीयादिनीतिपटलकौशलं . . .”

³ “. . . इयमिदामीं आचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मीर्यार्थे षड्भिः स्तोक-
सच्चैः संचित्प्रां . . .”

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“The science of Dañḍanīti (Politics) has been of late abridged into 6000 slokas by Achâryya Vishṇu Gupta for the benefit of the Maurya.” The results of a study of that work, difficult as it is, requiring a knowledge of various other sciences, are ironically described by Vihârabhadra (to dissuade his king from its study) in a long passage which bristles with quotations from the *Arthaśāstra*. Thus one of the results is stated to be that the reader will have to gravely decide what quantity of rice will be required to satisfy his appetite¹ [“आत्मकुचेरपि इते तष्णुलैः इयस्मिः इयानोदनः सम्यते”]; what quantity of fuel will cook a certain quantity of rice² [“इयत ओदनस्य पाकाय एतावत् इन्धनं पर्याप्तमिति भानोन्मानपूर्वकं देयम्।”]. Next follows a sarcastic enumeration and criticism of the king’s daily duties according to Chânakya, which closely follows that of the text before us. Thus the following expressions have been borrowed from the *Arthaśāstra*³:

¹ Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. xv, where quantities of food are determined for the higher castes (आर्य), lower castes (शूद्र), for women, and also for children.

² Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. xix: “काषपस्त्रिशतिपक्ष तष्णुलप्रस्त्राधनम्।”

³ See the chapter on राजप्रणिधिः of the first Book.

“आयव्यजातं अङ्गः प्रथमेऽष्टमे भागे श्रोतव्यम्” ; “द्वितीये अन्योऽन्यं विवदमानानां प्रजानां आक्रोशैः दद्वामानकर्णः कष्टं जीवति” ; “हतीये स्त्रातुं भोक्तुच्च लभते” ; “चतुर्थे हिरण्यप्रतिभ्रह्म इस्तं प्रसारयन्नेव उत्तिष्ठति” ; “पञ्चमे मन्त्रचिन्तया भवान्मायासं अनुभवति . . . मिथः सम्भूय दोषगुणो द्वृतचारवाक्यानि . . . उपजीवन्ति” ; “षष्ठे सैरविहारः मन्त्रो वा सेवः” ; “सप्तमे चतुरङ्गावलः प्रत्यवेक्षणं प्रधासः” ; “अष्टमे सेनापतिसखस्य विक्रमचिन्ताज्ञेशः” ; “पुनः उपास्य एव सम्धां प्रथमे रात्रिविभागे गूढ़ पुरुषाः द्रष्टव्याः” ; “द्वितीये भोजनान्तरं श्रोतव्य इव साधारणं आरहते” ; “हतीये तूर्यघोषेण संविष्टः” ; “चतुर्थपञ्चमी शयीत” ; “पुनः षष्ठे शास्त्रचिन्ता काव्यचिन्तारमः” ; “सप्तमे मन्त्रप्रहः द्वृतादि प्रेषणानि च” ; “अष्टमे पुरोहितादयः अभ्येत्य एनमाङ्गः” ।

Thus these borrowings of Dandī from the *Arthaśāstra* are a further proof that the work had an actual existence, and that it was the production of Chāṇakya.

Among other Sanskrit works which also allude to the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* may be mentioned the *Nandisūtra*¹ of the Jainas, the *Puñchatantra*² and the *Nītivākyāmrīta*³ of Somadeva. Lastly, we may refer to the evidence of numerous quotations from Kauṭilya in Mallināth's Commentary on Kālidāsa's

¹ P. 391, Calcutta ed., quoted in *I. A.*, Jan., 1905, p. 6.

² Ch. i.

³ Edited in the *Kāvyamālā* Series, Bombay.

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Raghuvanṣa and other works.¹ Even Kālidāsa would appear sometimes to borrow phrases of Kauṭilya's book.²

We have now considered the available evidence proving (1) the political connexion of Kauṭilya with Emperor Chandra Gupta Maurya, and (2) the existence of the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* as a literary work. It now remains to prove that that work is the production of an individual author and not of a

¹ E.g. Mallināth on *Raghuvanṣa*, Sarga 17, sloka 49: “अच कौटिल्यः—कार्याणां नियोग-विकल्प-समुच्चया भवन्ति अनेनैवोपायेन नान्येनेति नियोगः अनेन अन्येनवेति विकल्पः अनेन चेति समुच्चयः इति,” which is taken from the *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IX, ch. vii, pr. 147. *Ibid.*, sloka 55: “अच कौटिल्यः—क्षीणाः प्रष्टवतयो लोभं लुभ्यादान्ति विरागताम्। विरक्ता धान्यमित्रं वा भर्त्तारं द्वन्ति वा स्वयम्,” which corresponds to *Artha.*, Bk. VII, ch. v, pr. 108-110. *Ibid.*, sloka 56: “अच कौटिल्यः—समज्ञायोध्यां सन्दधीत हीनेन विष्टकीयात्,” which corresponds to *Artha.*, Bk. VII, ch. ii, pr. 101-2. *Ibid.*, sloka 76: “सन्ततप्रभावीत्साहशक्तिभिः परान् सन्दध्यात् इति कौटिल्यः,” which corresponds to *Artha.*, Bk. VII, ch. xv, pr. 117-120. *Ibid.*, sloka 81: “दुर्बलो वलवत्सेवी वरदाच्छङ्कितादिभिः। वर्त्तते दण्डोपनतोभर्त्यर्थेवमवस्थातः इति कौटिल्यः,” which corresponds to *Artha.*, *ibid.* *Ibid.*, Sarga 18, sloka 50: “अच कौटिल्यः—धर्माधर्मो चर्यां अर्थानर्थै वार्तार्या नयानयौ दप्तनीत्या इति,” which corresponds to *Artha.*, Bk. I, ch. i, pr. 1.

² Thus the phrase “अभिष्ठन्द वमनेन” of *Kumārasambhava*, VI, xxxvii, occurs in Bk. II, ch. i; similarly, *Raghuvanṣa*, III, xxviii, uses phrases of *Kauṭilya*, I, v, 8.

school, as is frequently the case with Indian treatises.

Fortunately, the above proposition has been argued at great length and in a quite convincing manner by the learned German orientalist Prof. Jacobi,¹ who successfully combats Hillebrandt's² view that Kauṭilya is not himself the sole author of the *Arthaśāstra*. Hillebrandt based his view on the inference that the expressions “*तति कौटिल्यः*” and “*नेति कौटिल्यः*,” occurring no less than seventy-two times in the text, show that it is not the work of an individual author named Kauṭilya but of a school. It is, however, forgotten that the use of the first person and the consequent assumption of prominence or self-assertiveness by an author who wants to refute opposite views is always repugnant to Indian feeling, and the other alternative of writing one's own name in that connexion is invariably followed as a piece of literary etiquette in India. Secondly, to say that a work is the production of a school would mean (i) that its alleged author was the founder of

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxxviii, 1912, pp. 882–849.

² *Das Kauṭilyasāstra und Verwandtes*, Breslau, 1908.

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the school traced to him in which discussions lead to definite conclusions and the creation of a tradition which is handed down from teacher to students, and (ii) that the tradition so created is afterwards embodied in a book-form by later students. None of these assumptions would, however, apply to Kauṭilya, considering the historical position of the man who, according to unanimous tradition as explained above, played such an important part not only in the foundation of the Maurya empire, but also in its governance as its first Chancellor with his onerous State duties. As Prof. Jacobi well observes : "One can hardly imagine that Bismarck after his day's work should have held a conference with the professors of a college over politics and State administration, and it is hardly less improbable to assume that Kauṭilya, the Indian Bismarck, should like an ordinary Pandit surround himself with students, teach them the *Arthaśāstra*, and found a school." The fact is, that the book begat the school, and not the school the book.

Nor do Kāmandaka's references to Kauṭilya's work prove it to be the production of a school, as may be easily assumed ; for Kāmandaka's

mention of Vishṇu Gupta, *i.e.* Kauṭilya, as his *guru* cannot be interpreted in the literal sense of the term so as to point to the origin of the *Arthaśāstra* in a school. This is clear from the character of the *Nītisāra* as well as from its contents. It is professedly an abridgment [“संक्षिप्त पन्थ”] of the comprehensive work traced to Kauṭilya, which, though its principal source, is not, however, its only source, and is not also blindly followed. Kāmandaka is not a one-sided follower of his master; he refers to the opinions of other राजविद्याविदः besides the authority of Kauṭilya; and there are points of agreement¹ as well as difference² between the two. Besides, Kāmandaka presents only a small part of the *Arthaśāstra* and omits those very subjects which have a bearing on actual administration and which give so much value to Kauṭilya's work; for instance, such subjects as administration, control of trade and professions, justice, etc., as also universal maxims of government. The fact of the matter was that Kāmandaka was no practical statesman, but a Pandit fond of disputation and showing

¹ *E.g.* classification of knowledge.

² *E.g.* the theory of the Maṇḍala or political sphere.

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off political wisdom ; and the use that he has made of Kauṭilya's work only strengthens our conviction that the work is not scholastically delivered tradition but bears the stamp of an individual author and his times.

The same conviction is also borne in upon us by the contents of the *Arthaśāstra* itself and its internal evidence, which we shall now proceed to set forth after Prof. Jacobi.

The first piece of internal evidence is furnished by the references of Kauṭilya to his predecessors, which betray the critical tendency unmistakably suggestive of an individual author. Thus Kauṭilya mentions his predecessors no less than 114 times—“रत्त कौचिष्ठ दर्शन” occurring only once¹—and in all those numerous references Kauṭilya quotes opinions only to differ from them. This abundance of criticism, opposition and contradiction seems evidently to indicate a strongly marked individuality and a critical personality, and is quite in keeping with the spirit of the concluding verse referred to above about the author's justly claimed services to learning. Further, if Kauṭilya's work were the production of a

¹ I, x, 6, p. 17.

compiler of his school long after Kauṭilya's death, would there be any interest in the use of such forms as इति कौटिल्यः and नेति कौटिल्यः, and repeatedly establishing that Kauṭilya's doctrines differed from those of his predecessors ? And, in that case, would also the expression “इति आचार्यः,” as applied to opponents, be used by a late student of Kauṭilya's school when it would also apply to Kauṭilya himself as an आचार्य ?

Secondly, we should note the fact that the two greater parts of the *Arthasāstra* contain no mention of opposite views, viz. pages 69–156 and 197–253 of the book, comprising parts of Books entitled अध्यक्षप्रचार, कष्टकशोधन, and चोगदनं, the last chapter of which treats of the significant subject “What is to happen in cases of imminent vacancy of throne ?” Those parts do not treat the general principles so much as practical regulations in detail, such as administration, control of trade and industry, the police, the budget, and the like, about which scholasticism has no need to trouble itself but which are of the greatest moment to the practical statesman. We accordingly find that in his treatment of those subjects Kauṭilya does not take

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any opportunity for controversy, and stands there all alone with no previous tradition to consider or criticize. This is also evident from the significance of the word “प्राचीः”¹ in the opening line of the book which refers to the previous *Āchāryyas*.

Next, we have to consider how Kauṭilya alludes to his predecessors. He uses both the plural and the singular number in respect of them, and in the former case he means the *school*,² and in the latter the *individual author*.³ What is worthy of note is that these sources are mentioned in a definite order⁴ in several places, which is probably not the chronological order, but rather seems to be the order of merit determined by Kauṭilya's own estimation, or the order determined by his convenience of discussion. The arranging of the *Āchāryyas* in such an arbitrary order is

¹ “ष्टथिवा जामे पाजने च यावनि अर्थशास्त्रानि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्त्रानि संहत्य एकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं ज्ञातम्।”

² E.g. भानवाः, बाह्यसत्याः, औशनसाः, पाराशराः, etc.

³ E.g. भारद्वाजः, विश्वलालाचः, पिष्ठुनः, कौणपद्मः, वात्याधिः, बज्जद्वनीपुत्रः, etc.

⁴ E.g. I, vi, 4, pp. 18 ff.:—भरद्वाज-विश्वलालाच-पराशर-पिष्ठुन-कौणपद्म-वात्याधि-बज्जद्वनीपुत्र। The same order is seen on pp. 32 ff., and on pp. 325 ff.

possible only to a great master, and not to an ordinary writer of a text-book. It may also be noted in passing that the schools mentioned by Kauṭilya were not exclusively the schools of अर्थशास्त्र only, but of धर्मशास्त्र, which comprehended political discussion as a subsidiary topic. It seems that the अर्थशास्त्र did not differentiate itself as an independent school or branch of learning before Kauṭilya.

Fourthly, a careful consideration of the style of the *Arthaśāstra* would also indicate its individual authorship. Broadly speaking, the course of literary development in India embraces three well-marked stages : in the first stage the previously accumulated tradition or discipline undergoes development in and through a school or schools devoted thereto ; the second stage is that of the composition of *Sūtras*, which lead to some *siddhāntas*, or definite formulæ and conclusions, the exposition of which is conducted by the school, though the contents receive thereby a further expansion ; the third stage is that of the composition of *Bhāshyas*, which lead to freedom from the control of the schools, and ushers in the stage of individual authorship. Thus,

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while the text-books produced by schools (*e.g.* the *Śrauta-Dharma-Grihya-Sūtras*) show the style of *Sūtras*, the works of individual authors (*e.g.* Yāskā's *Nirukta*, Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, etc.) bear a different character. They contain dogmatic statements, together with discussion supporting their own views, and the style passes from that of the *Sūtras* to the style of the *Bhāshyas*. Similarly, in Kauṭilya's work there are some parts characterized by the brevity and dogmatism of the *Sūtras*, while there are other parts in which the author indulges in certain breadth and minuteness of details after the manner of the *Bhāshyas*. Thus the *Arthaśāstra* partakes of the character of both *Sūtra* and *Bhāshya* at the same time, and this is also admitted by the couplet added at the end of the book, viz. :—

द्वाविप्रतिपत्तिं वज्ज्ञाभास्तेषु भाष्यकाराणां ।
ख्यसेव विष्णुगुप्तव्यकार सूत्रस्य भाष्यम् ॥

Hence the style of the work shows that it belongs to the class of literary works which are not the productions of schools but of individual authors.

✓ We shall now discuss the evidence as to

individual authorship furnished by passages in the book itself. These passages are given below :—

- (1) सुखप्रहृष्टविज्ञेयं तत्त्वार्थपदनिश्चितम् ।
कौटिल्येन क्षतं शास्त्रं विमुक्तः प्रव्यविस्तरम् ॥ [I, i.]
- (2) सर्वशास्त्राण्णनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च ।
कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः क्षतः ॥ [II, x.]
- (3) एवं शास्त्रमिदं युक्तं एताभिस्खान्त्युक्तिभिः ।
अवाप्ती पालने चोक्तां लोकसास्थ परस्य च ॥ [XV, i.]
- (4) धर्मसर्थं च कामं च प्रवर्त्यति पाति च ।
अधर्मानर्थविद्वेषानिदं शास्त्रं निरूप्ति च ॥ [*Ibid.*]
- (5) येन शास्त्रं च इत्यं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।
असर्वेणोक्तान्याश्च तेन शास्त्रमिदं क्षतम् ॥ [*Ibid.*]

The suggestion that all these passages might have been later additions to the text cannot stand, because, as pointed out by Prof. Jacobi, “if they are taken out, then the customary metrical conclusion will be wanting in the chapters concerned.” They may therefore be taken to be integral parts of the text.

In the first passage the expression “सुखप्रहृष्टविज्ञेय,” as pointed out by Prof. Jacobi, is a clear indication of individual authorship, for “so speaks the author of a text-book meant

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for self-instruction," for individual learners, and not for the school, for a *Sūtra* need not be *सुखप्रहणविज्ञेय*, because for its understanding the teacher has to look to the school. This inference is also in keeping with the meaning of the opening words of our text, viz. “ इश्वरा स्तामे पालने च यावन्यर्थंशास्त्रिणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्तापितानि प्रायश्चानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थग्रामं कृतम् । ” Here there is a reference to individual authors, the earlier masters, and not to school traditions or schools; as must have been the case had the work of Kauṭilya been the product of a school.

The same contention is again supported by the second passage, which refers to practical administration and regulations [शासनाधिकार] which are above scholastic wisdom. Here Kauṭilya claims special merit for his work, for these matters had not been sufficiently handled by previous masters. The personal note of the passage is also unmistakable, for would a mere "school compiler" have thus boasted of laying down regulations for guidance of emperors?

Of the next three passages, the first passage relates itself to the opening words of the text, the second promises the attainment of चित्तं as

the end of the *Arthaśāstra*, while the last verse indicates who the author is, not by mentioning his name, which had already appeared twice, but by enumerating his virtues or achievements with incomparably forcible brevity. This is not the language of vain self-glorification, but of one who speaks self-possessed from the height of human fame. But, as Prof. Jacobi well observes, in spite of the self-consciousness undiluted by any sham modesty, one still perceives in the words of Chandra Gupta's Chancellor a courtly discretion which omits to mention the name of his master whom he had raised to the throne, for in that connexion it would have been supremely indecorous. This graceful self-restraint, this aristocratic reserve, is very significant and well worthy of the man and his position in life. It is only a later author, untrammelled by such discretion or restraint, who can unreservedly mention the name of Emperor Chandra Gupta in connexion with the eulogy of Kauṭilya as Kāmandaka, for instance, has done in the passage quoted above.¹ Lastly, the full significance of the phrase “अमर्षेण उकृतः” has to be noted.

¹ See p. xiii above.

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When applied to learning, it shows Kauṭilya's impatience of the narrowness and shallowness of his predecessors, which irritated him into activity, and is also an expression of the contempt of the Statesman for the Professor—of which Bismarck, for instance, made no concealment—a contempt which manifests itself throughout the book in the frequent references to the *Āchāryyas* and their doctrinairisms and the refutation of their teachings, and also in the necessity he felt for treatment of important topics omitted by previous masters but indispensable in a useful hand-book of Politics.

We have now considered the internal evidence of the book itself, which proves its genuineness as the production of Kauṭilya. The suspicion which has gathered round the work is due to the fact that literary forgeries have been very common in India, and individual authorship very rare. It is, however, forgotten that these forgeries invariably connect themselves with divine names, with gods and *rishis*, or the *gurus*, e.g. books which passed under the names of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa and the like. But a literary adulteration in respect of a historical personality supported by

careful correspondence to the special features of the original (like the *Letters of Phalaris*, for example) is a refined imposture unheard of in India, and totally foreign to her soil. There is also another kind of literary practice in India which involves false naming of authors, and is frequently resorted to in cases where the author does not like to mention his own name but mentions instead that of his patron who brought about the composition of the work, e.g. the works going under the name of Bhoja, King of Dhârâ. Such a genesis, however, cannot apply to the work of Kauṭilya, wherein the author attributes to himself the merits of the work. It can, of course, hardly be denied that Kauṭilya must have had co-workers in many parts of his book, especially those which treat of technical details. Public officers of State in charge of the several departments of administration must have supplied to him materials which Kauṭilya has only edited; but this fact of itself does not vitiate the genuineness of the book as the production of Kauṭilya.

The universal reverence attaching to epoch-making masterpieces preserves them against

the ravages of time and interpolators alike. They never get antiquated, but they become canonical. So has been preserved through centuries Yâska's *Nirukta* as well as Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*. This is also true of the *Kautilîya Arthaśâstra*, which has further preserved itself by the numbering of its प्रकरण's and the sketching of its contents. Thus the suspicion against the genuineness of the work is unfounded, while the unanimous Indian tradition according to which the *Arthaśâstra* is the work of the famous Minister of Chandra Gupta is confirmed most decisively, as we have already seen, by a series of internal reasons furnished by the book itself.

In this connexion I should like to draw pointed attention to a few other passages in the text which, to my mind, contain indirect allusions and veiled references to the Emperor Chandra Gupta in respect of whom the *Arthaśâstra* has carefully avoided any *direct* reference for reasons already explained, and which will no doubt be found to supply additional and valuable links in the chain of reasoning by which we are supporting our thesis that the book is a genuine production of the Minister

of Chandra Gupta. These passages are as follows :—

- (1) अप्रणीतो हि [दण्डः] मात् स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति । वल्ली-४
यानवल्कं हि प्रसते दण्डधराभावे । तेन गुप्तः प्रभवति ।
[I, iv, 1.]
- (2) विद्याविनीतो राजा हि प्रजानां विनये रतः ।
अनन्या शथिवीं भुद्ध्ने सर्वभूतच्छते रतः । [I, v, 2.]
- (3) तद्विरकृष्टचिरवश्येन्द्रियसातुरन्तोऽपि राजा सद्यो वि-
नश्चति । [I, v, 3.]
- (4) देशः शथिवी ; तस्यां हिमवत्समुद्भाकारमुदीचीनं
योजनसच्चपरिमाणं अतिर्थक् चक्रवर्तिं च च ।
[दण्डः, 135-6.]
ix, 1

The first of these passages easily lends itself to the interpretation that Kauṭilya seeks to justify his action in connexion with the usurpation of the throne by Chandra Gupta, whose strong and righteous administration [यथाहृदण्डः and सुविज्ञात प्रणीतो दण्डः] abolished the anarchy and misrule due to the profligacy and unpopularity of the previous Nanda king, who was unable to discharge the primary functions of government, viz. the protection of the weak against the strong [अप्रणीतो हि मात् स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति, etc.]; “तेन गुप्तः प्रभवति” would thus mean “for this reason—the abolition of anarchy and

inauguration of order—does गुप्त, i.e. Chandra Gupta,¹ rise and flourish.” This is in all probability the hidden meaning of the passage, though its obvious and superficial sense, drawn from the grammar and context, is different from that suggested. The other three passages have also, to my mind, a common veiled reference to the paramount sovereignty established over the whole of India from the Himalayas to the sea [हिमवत्-समुद्रान्तरं, etc.], up to its boundaries in the four directions [चातुरक्षोऽपि राजा], by Chandra Gupta, who reigns as the Lord Paramount, *Chakravarti*, with none to dispute his rights or share the empire with him [अवन्या उचिर्भीं मुख्ले]. Thus, though there are no direct allusions in the *Arthashastra* to the sovereignty of Chandra Gupta which might connect it with his times, these indirect and veiled references are, in my opinion, a sufficient compensation for that supposed defect, and they well suit the work of a consummate politician like Chāṇakya, who knew very well what to express and what to suppress in writing about contemporary politics.

¹ I owe this suggestion to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon), Bar.-at-law. I am also deeply indebted to Dr. Brajendra-nath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., for his many invaluable criticisms and suggestions, and to Mr. Law for material assistance.

And read between the lines, the *Arthasâstra* will be found to throw out sure and sufficient hints as to the age of its production.

Before I conclude, I should not pass over one other matter of importance in this connexion, viz. the striking correspondence between parts or passages of the *Arthasâstra* and the accounts of India traced to Megasthenes relating to the period of Chandra Gupta. Such correspondence of the *Arthasâstra* with a definitely dated document is no doubt of great help in fixing its age. A close study of both will show that the Book of *Arthasâstra* entitled अधिकारप्रचार gives a full view of Indian administration of which only a partial view can be obtained from the observations of Megasthenes [Frag. xxxiv]. This may be indicated as follows :—

1. “*Of the great officers of State, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers.*” This corresponds to the संस्थाना of the *Arthasâstra*, under whom were such officers as पात्राधिक, शहराधिक and the like, who looked after commercial matters, the नागरिक or city magistrate charged with the municipal administration and policing of the city, and

lastly such officers as नावधच्च, पत्यधच्च, सेनापति, etc., who were in charge of the military.

2. “*Some superintend the rivers, measure the land . . . and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches.*” Kauṭilya also mentions provisions for irrigation under the Superintendent of the Admiralty [नावधच्च] for inspection of rivers and water-courses. He also refers to canals and sluices, as in the passage “सेतुभीमुच्चतसोयमपारेष्टपशोदमः,” etc. [Bk. III, ch. x, 61], and mentions four modes of irrigation, viz. irrigation by hand [चक्षप्रावर्जितम्], by water carried on shoulders [खन्धप्रावर्जितम्], by mechanical contrivances [चोत्यन्धप्रावर्जितम्], and by water from tanks, wells and rivers [नदीसरक्षटाकङ्कपोद्घाडन]. In the following passage, “वातप्रहर्जितनन्दिनिवन्धायतनतटाककेदारारामपञ्चवापाना . . .” there is perhaps a reference to the raising of water from wells and tanks by bullocks, and also to devices worked by wind-power, *i.e.* windmills.

As regards officers who “measure the land,” a reference may be made to duties of officers called गोप, खानिक, etc., in the *Arthashastra*, who were entrusted with the very same duties [Bk. II, xxxv, 54–55].

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3. “*The same persons have also charge of the huntsmen . . .*” In the *Arthaśāstra* hunters were placed under the immediate control of an officer called विवीताधर्म, the Superintendent of Pastures, whose duties are set forth in detail [Bk. II, xxiii, 52–58].

4. “*They collect the tares and superintend the occupations . . .*” In the *Arthaśāstra* there is a detailed account of the arrangements for the collection of taxes or revenue. The chief responsible officer was the समाहर्ता, under whom were the heads of several departments who collected the revenue for which they were responsible and sent it on to the समाहर्ता [II, vi, 24].

5. “*They construct roads . . .*” This was done under the superintendence of the समाहर्ता [*ibid.*].

6. “*The members of the first body look after everything relating to the industrial arts.*” The *Arthaśāstra* also [IV, i, 76] speaks of the State supervision of industries, so as to secure proper observance by artizans of rules governing the preparation or manufacture of products [IV, i, 76].

7. “*The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur,*

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with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths . . . may not escape the cognizance of Government.” The Arthasâstra also gives details of census operations carried on by officers termed सानिक, गोप, etc. [see II, xxxiv, 54–55, and xxxvi, 56].

8. “*The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice.*” The officer termed संस्थाधच्च in the Arthasâstra had also to detect false weights, measures and balances, and check the sale of adulterated goods and of inferior goods passed as superior [see chapter on वैदेशकरचणम्]. He also regulated sales.

Similarly, Megasthenes’ account of the organization of the War Office, with its six divisions, corresponds very well with what Kauṭilya says about the officers termed नावधच्च, अश्वाधच्च, वस्त्रधच्च, रथाधच्च, सेनापति, etc. His account of “the seven castes among the Indians,” also, will be found on a closer analysis to correspond to the duties of the four traditional castes as laid down in the Arthasâstra [see p. 7, I, i, 1]. Among other minor correspondences may be mentioned Megasthenes’

reference to elephants *turning the scale of victory*, which is to be compared with Kauṭilya's चक्षुप्रधानो विजयो राजाम् [II, ii, 20]; his reference to "exercising the body by friction" is supported by the duties of the संचाहक, as mentioned in the chapter on आमरच्छितकम् [Bk. I]; that about "the care of the king's person being entrusted to women" is supported by the chapters on आमरच्छितकम् [Bk. I] and गणिकाध्यक्ष [Bk. II]. His observation that "the king may not sleep during the day-time" is supported by the account of the king's daily duties in chapter राजप्रणिधिः [Bk. I]; that about "the guard of armed women" by Chāṇakya's ऋगणैः घन्तिभिः of chapter आमरच्छितकं [Bk. I]; that about "enclosures" for the king's hunting may be compared with मृगवनं विश्वारार्थं राज्ञः कारयेत् as referred to in the chapter भूमिच्छ्रद्धविधानं [Bk. II]. The reference about the king's processions being very well guarded finds its parallel in what Kauṭilya says about them towards the end of the chapter on आमरच्छितकम्.¹ Women attendants of the king, on chariots, as mentioned by Megasthenes, are also mentioned by Kauṭilya in his chapter on

¹ "निर्यापेऽभियाने च राजमार्गमुभयतः छतारकं दण्डिभिर-पास्तश्चक्षुप्रधानितव्यप्रगच्छेत् . . ."

गणिकाऽध्यक्षः [Bk. II]. The reference about "houses being left unguarded" as contained in Megasthenes is perhaps connected with the custom mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of leaving some parts of every house [“अप्रिकुडनशास्त्रयो”] open for all [III, viii, 61]. The mention by Megasthenes of the marriage dowry of "a yoke of oxen" corresponds to Kauṭilya's गोमिशुनादानादर्शः [III, ii, 59]. The practice of the Admiralty "letting out ships on hire for transport of passengers and merchandise" is also referred to in the chapter on नावध्यक्ष. *Overseers* as a class of officials as mentioned by Megasthenes correspond to the *chāras* of the *Arthaśāstra* about whom so much has been said in its several chapters. Megasthenes' reference to horses and elephants with persons specially "appointed to take care of them" is amply borne out by the chapters अस्त्राध्यक्ष and हस्त्याध्यक्ष as indicated above. The reference of Megasthenes to the *Royal Road* from east to west is corroborated by the accounts of roads in the *Arthaśāstra* [VII, xii, 116] in which roads leading to the Himalayas [हिमवतः] and to the west [पूर्वपश्चिमश्च वर्षक्षेपयः] are specifically mentioned. The precautions against fire as detailed in the *Arthaśāstra* [II,

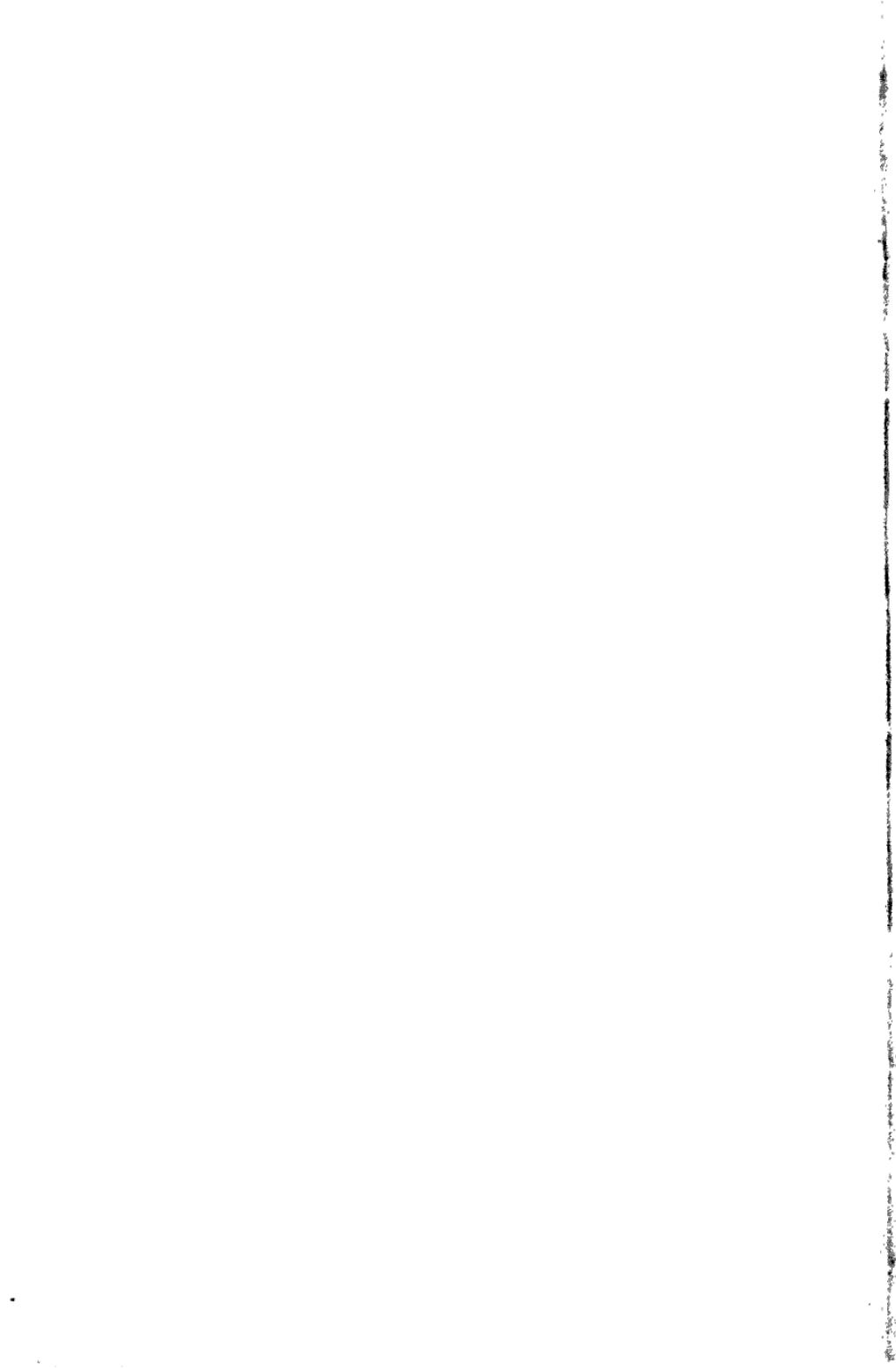
xxxvi, 56, and IV, ii, 78], where ten different remedies are laid down [दसमूलीषंघ] for universal use of householders, as also the municipal regulations by virtue of which, in all the principal roads of a city and in front of royal buildings, vessels filled with water were kept ; which forbade building straw houses in the city, and confined those who worked with fire, *e.g.* blacksmiths, to isolated parts of the city : all these have really a reference to the wooden architecture prevalent in the period as indicated in the chapter on दुर्गविधान [Bk. II] and also mentioned by Megasthenes [Frag. xxvii].

Lastly, the testimony of Megasthenes to the high degree of development which material civilization attained in India is abundantly supported by the detailed information furnished by the *Arthashastra* on the subject. It would take too much space, and is hardly necessary, to prove by quotations the truth of Megasthenes' remarks [Frag. i] that the Indians are "well skilled in the arts," and "while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of

gulations appropriate to a mercantile civilization, which are not parts of any system of polity, while both Aristotle's *Politics* and Plato's *Republic* go to the other extreme of treating only of the theory of the State and Constitution. In the *Arthashastra* we find a combination of theory and practice, principles of government, as well as administrative details and regulations, treated with a touch of refreshing realism which is born only of a living experience of actual problems and contact with facts. The system of polity as revealed in the *Arthashastra* is complete in all aspects and details, and exhibits those features which are characteristic of India. Agriculture and commerce, arts and crafts for which India is ever noted, receive their due treatment and emphasis in the book ; forests and mines, irrigation and famine, land revenue, census, central and municipal government, cattle and livestock, are the eternal topics of Indian administration, conditioned, as every government is, by its natural and historical environment. And when we find that all these familiar problems have been treated in the *Arthashastra*—problems which are still exercising the British

Government of India at the present day—we cannot but discover the operation of an evolutionary process which is ultimately governing the development of Indian administration through Hindu, Mahomedan and modern times.

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STUDIES IN ANCIENT HINDU POLITY.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY. MINING. IRRIGATION.
METEOROLOGY.

§ 1: *Preliminary*.—The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, which has been recently edited and published by Mr. R. Shama Sastri, possesses a great interest and importance not only to students of Sanskrit literature, but also to students of Indian history. It throws a flood of light on the material, social and political condition of the ancient Hindus during the third and fourth centuries before the Christian era. It is in fact a unique record of the secular aspects or developments of Indian civilization in that brilliant period of Indian history—the Age of Chandra Gupta. For information regarding this period or the sources of its history,

we had hitherto unfortunately to depend mainly upon the meagre accounts left by Greek writers whose interest in India was first roused by the invasion of Alexander. This work of Kauṭilya, however, removes to a great extent our want in this direction by opening up a mine of information which is as full as it is reliable.

I therefore propose to utilize this work, in a number of chapters, as a source of information regarding the aforesaid period.

One of the most striking features of Chandra Gupta's government revealed by the *Arthaśāstra* is that it achieved many triumphs in peace which were no less than those of war—in fact, Chandra Gupta was as well known for the numerical strength and the efficiency of his army and the organization of his war office as for those regulations and institutions which ensure the material welfare of a country. In the present chapter I shall refer to some of the most prominent works and institutions of public utility of his time, which are definitely indicated by passages in the *Arthaśāstra*.

There can be little doubt that the department of public works in the government of Chandra Gupta was fairly well organized, with

its scope and functions clearly defined. The area of its activity was quite extensive, and included among other things the working of mines, the opening of irrigation works, the establishment of factories; the maintenance of preserves and grazing grounds, of highways of commerce, waterways, land-routes, and other facilities for communication; the establishment of markets and stores; the construction of embankments, dams and bridges; the planting of fruit and flower trees, of medicinal plants and herbs (*i.e.* the establishment of Ayurvedic and pharmaceutical gardens); and lastly, the State protection of the disabled, the helpless and the infirm, and also of the lower animals, thus anticipating some of the tendencies of modern legislation. I quote below some of the passages which contain references to these works and institutions:—

- (i) आकरकर्णान्मद्वयस्तिवनप्रजविष्कृपथप्रचारान् वारि-
स्यापथपथपतनानि च लिवेश्येत् ।
—Bk. II, जनपदनिवेशः, p. 47.
- (ii) सेतुबन्धोरप्याहार्योदकात् सहोदकः त्रियान् ।
—Bk. VII, कर्मसम्बिः, p. 297.
- (iii) एवं इच्छिपवनं सेतुबन्धमथाकरान्
रचेत् पूर्वकातान् राजा नवांशाभिप्रवर्त्तयेत् ।
—Bk. II, जनपदनिवेशः, p. 49.

- (iv) उत्तरपश्चिमभागं पण्डितव्यगृहं ।
—Bk. II, दुर्गनिवेशः, p. 55.
- (v) सहोदकमाहार्यादिकम् वा सेतुं वन्धयेत् । अन्येषां वा वप्तवां भूमिमार्गद्वयोपकरणानुप्रवृत्त्यात् ।
—Bk. II, जनपदनिवेशः, p. 47.
- (vi) इथग्रन्थस्यीयं महामाचीयं, विभक्तजीपुस्तकस्मानमवसारतः
चुगुप्तकथ्यं वन्धनागारं कारयेत् ।
—Bk. II, सप्तिखालचेयकर्म, p. 58.
- (vii) भिषग्भीषज्यागारात् आसादविश्वद्वैषज्ञं गृहीत्वा पाचक-
पोषकाभ्यामाना च प्रतिस्थाप्य राजे प्रवच्छेत् ।
—Bk. I, आद्वारचितकम्, p. 44.
- (viii) गन्धमैषज्ञोश्वीरहोरवेर पिष्ठालुकादीनां यथासं भूमिषु
च स्थानां च अनूप्यादीषधीमापयेत् ।
—Bk. II, सीतास्थच्छः, p. 117.
- (ix) सेतुं वनं ब्रजं वणिकपथं चावेष्टेत् ।
—Bk. II, समाहर्तुसमुद्यप्रस्थापनम्, p. 59.
- (x) (a) वालृष्टव्याधितव्यसन्यनाथां च राजाविभूयात्
(b) सेन-वाल-विषपाहैः व्याधिभिश्च पश्चिमान् (रचेत्) ।
—Bk. II, जनपदनिवेशः, pp. 47, 48.
- (xi) चयः प्राचीना राजमार्गास्थ जटीचीनाः ।
चतुर्दण्डान्तरा रथ्या राजमार्ग-द्रोणसुख-स्थानीय-राङ्ग-
विवीतपथाः ।
सयोनीय-व्युत्प्रभान-याम-पथास्थ-दण्डाः ।
चतुर्दण्डसेतुवनपथः ।
द्विदण्डोऽस्तित्वेवपथः ।
पश्चारलयो रथपथस्थारः पश्चपथः ।
द्वौ चुद्रपश्चमनुष्टपथः ।
—Bk. II, दुर्गनिवेशः, pp. 54, 55.

§ 2 : *Mining.*—Let us first turn to the working of mines. The only two passages in Megasthenes that are worthy of note in this connexion are :—

"And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of use and ornament as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."—Book I, Fragment i.

The second passage is :—

"The robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin."—Book II, Fragment xxvii.

These passages show, no doubt, that there were extensive mining operations in those days, but do not satisfy our curiosity as to their details. The Arthaśāstra, however, does this. According to it, there were two classes of mines, viz. (i) ocean mines and (ii) land mines, and expert superintendents were appointed in charge of each class. The duty of the superintendent of ocean mines was to look after the collection of diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, corals, conch-shells and salt. The regulation of the trade in these articles was also one of his duties. It may be

noted in passing that ocean mining unquestionably indicates great progress in the art of navigation and shipbuilding, which will be dealt with hereafter.

A scientific expert was appointed to the post of superintendent of land mines. In the first place, he had to perform the difficult work of prospecting and discovering new mines on plains and mountain slopes. He had to examine and infer from slags, ashes and other such indications whether a mine had been exhausted or not. This department was manned by several other experts, as also by mining labourers. It was also equipped with the necessary scientific apparatus.

The superintendent was guided in his work of prospecting by his knowledge of the signs and properties of the mineral ores. He had to pay particular attention to the depth of colour, weight, smell, taste, oiliness, adhesiveness, power of amalgamating with particular metals, and several other mechanical and chemical properties of the ores, in order to ascertain the nature and richness of a mine. We find in the Arthashastra the properties of several metals classified, and the large number and variety of

them necessarily lead one to the conclusion that mining reached a stage far above the rudimentary, and that the persons who devoted their attention to it possessed no small power of discrimination. As an illustration¹ I quote below the passage which enumerates the signs of the different kinds of silver ores. It says that the silver ores are those which have the colours of शङ्खः, कर्पूरः, स्फटिकः, नवनीतः, कपोतः, पारावतः, विमलकः, मधूरभ्रीवा ; Of सस्यकः, गोमेदकः, गुडः मत्स्यपिण्डिकाः ; of कोविदारः, पश्च, पाठली, कल्लाय, चौमपुष्प, आतसीपुष्प ; which are found in combination with सच्चिदः, अञ्जनः, are विष्णु (smelling of raw meat), भिन्न, चेताभः, क्षणः, क्षणाभः, चेत and लेखाबिन्दुचित्रः ; do not split, and emit much foam and smoke. Similarly, we find mentioned the properties of the ores of gold, float-gold, bitumen, copper,² lead,³ tin,

¹ शङ्ख-कर्पूर-स्फटिक-नवनीत-कपोत-पारावत-विमलक-
मधूरभ्रीवावर्णाः । सस्यक-गोमेदक-गुड-मत्स्यपिण्डिकावर्णाः । कोवि-
दार पश्चपाठलीकल्लाय चौमातसीपुष्पवर्णाः । सच्चिदः सञ्जनः
विष्णु भिन्नाः चेताभः क्षणाः क्षणाभाः चेताः सर्वे वा लेखाबिन्दु-
चित्रा मृद्वो भाष्यमाना न स्फुटन्ति बज्जफेण धूमाश रूपघातवः ।

—Bk. II, आकरकमीन्द्रप्रवर्तनम्, p. 82.

² Ores of copper— भारिकसूखिग्नो मृदुश्च प्रस्तरधातुभूमि-
भागो वा पिङ्गलो हरितः पाठली लोहितो वा तापधातुः ।
Ibid., p. 83.

³ Ores of lead— काकमेचकः कपोतरोचनावर्णः चेतराजिनदो
वा विष्वस्त्रीसधातुः । *Ibid.*

iron, etc. It is apparent from this that the classification is an elaborate one, and the industry in Chandra Gupta's time reached an advanced stage.

When the superintendent discovered a new mine, he intimated it to Government, stating at the same time the nature of its contents. The Government had to decide whether it would work the mine directly or lease it out to private persons. It was only in the case of those mines that required a large outlay to work them that Government leased them out.

The purification of the ores during the actual exploitation of the mines is an interesting study. The metals were purified by treating them with ingredients most of which were organic. The passage¹ quoted below enumerates these ingredients: तीक्ष्ण, urine, alkalies, राजष्ट्रच, बट, पोखु, cow's bile, urine and dung of buffalo, etc. Again, metals were made permanently or temporarily malleable

¹ तेषाम् (धात्रनाम्) अशुद्धा मूढगमी वा तीक्ष्णमूच्चारभा-
विता राजष्ट्रचबटपोखुगोपित्तरीचना सहिष-खरकरडमूच्च-लाञ्छ-
पिष्ठबद्धासत्-प्रतीवापासद्वस्त्रेपा वा विशुद्धास्त्रवस्त्रि ।

—*Ibid.*, p. 82.

by chemically treating them with several ingredients, *e.g.* ashes of चव, माष, तिळ, honey, sheep's milk, clarified butter, powder of cow's teeth and horn.¹ The passage bearing on this point asserts that even if a metal splits into a hundred thousand parts it can be rendered malleable by the prescribed methods. These methods, however, appear to us to be novel, and are quite different from what a metallurgist of the present day would use. But nevertheless they were of service in their day.

After the metals had been purified, the superintendents who looked after the manufacture of articles from the metals took charge of them. There were several such superintendents, *e.g.* a superintendent of gold (सूबर्णाध्यचः) for manufacturing ornaments from gold; a superintendent of the inferior metals (लोहाध्यचः), viz. copper, lead, tin, bell-metal, नाल्ल and खोप्र, to manufacture commodities from them; a superintendent of the armoury (आयुधाध्यचः), one of whose duties was to look after the

¹ यदमाषतिळपल्लाशपोल्लारैः गोचीरराजचीरेवै कदलीव-
चकन्दप्रतीवापो मार्दवकरः । मधुमधुकमजापयः सतैलं धृतगुड-
किखयुतं सकन्दडीकं—यदपि भ्रतसहस्रधा विभिन्नं भवति मृदु
चिमिरेव तत्रिषेकः । गोदमाष्टकप्रतीवापो मृदुस्त्रभनः ।

—*Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.



manufacture of metal weapons ; a superintendent of the mint (लक्षणाभ्यच्चः) for minting coins from gold, silver, copper, etc. ; a superintendent of the treasury (कोशाभ्यच्चः), one of whose principal duties was to look after the formation of ornaments of precious stones such as necklaces and bracelets. Commerce in the manufactured metal articles was in the hands of Government. There was a separate superintendent to look after and regulate commerce in salt (सूखणाभ्यच्चः).

There were regulations for the departments of the superintendents ; but leaving them for the present, let us turn to the different kinds of rates that were levied from mines.¹ These were, as the passage quoted below shows—
 (1) मूल्य, (2) विभाग, (3) आजी, (4) परिष, (5) अत्यय,
 (6) शस्त्र, (7) वैधरण, (8) दण्ड, (9) रूप and (10) रूपिक.

Before leaving the subject of mines, it should be noted that in Bk. IV, वाक्यकर्मानुदोगः, there is a passage which lays down the punishment for a Brâhmañ who has committed a heinous offence, viz., that though he must not be tortured in any case, his property may be

¹ एवं मूल्यं विभागं च आजीं परिषमत्ययम्
 शस्त्रं वैधरणं दण्डं रूपं रूपिकमेव च । *Ibid.*, p. 85.

confiscated or he may be *condemned to the mines*.¹ This resembles the punishment inflicted in Rome on criminals for an offence of the grosser sort.

§ 3 : *Irrigation*.—We now turn to the next point, viz. irrigation. That there was an elaborate system of irrigation in the time of Chandra Gupta is already known to us through Megasthenes :

"The greater part of the soil is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of a year."—Bk. I, Fragment i.

And again,

"Some superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into other branches, so that everyone may have an equal supply of it."—Bk. III, Fragment xxxiv.

These statements are borne out by the Arthaśâstra, and, moreover, certain details are added which we do not find in Megasthenes. In the passages

इस्त्रावर्जिमसुदभागं पञ्चमं दद्यः ।

स्त्रन्ध्रावर्जिमं चतुर्थम् ।

सोतयन्त्रप्रावर्जिमं च छतीयम् ।

चतुर्थं नदीसरक्षटाककूपोद्घाटम् ।

—Bk. II, सीताश्वच्छः, p. 117.

¹ (ब्राह्मणं पापकर्माणम्) कुर्याद्विर्विषयं राजा वासवेदाकरेषु वा । Bk. IV, p. 220.

we see that water-rates (जलकमाण) varied according to the modes of irrigation, which were four in number, viz. irrigation by hand (हस्तप्रावर्जित), irrigation by water carried on shoulders (खन्धप्रावर्जित), irrigation by some mechanical contrivance (चोतयन्त्रप्रावर्जित), and irrigation by water raised from tanks and rivers (नदीसरखटाकदूधोङ्गाठम्). The rates were one-fifth, one-fourth, one-third and one-fourth of the produce respectively. Again, in Bk. III, वास्तुविक्रयः, p. 170, which speaks of remission of taxes in the case of repair of old tanks and construction of new ones, and also in the case of improvement and extension of waterworks, we find it laid down—वातप्रवर्जितमनन्दिनवन्धायतन-तटाकेदारारामषष्वापानां सख्यपर्णभागोत्तरिकमन्येभ्यो वा यथो-पकारं इच्छः । which shows that there were not only means of raising water by bullocks, but also *contrivances worked by wind power, i.e. wind-mills.* In the next passage—

से तु भ्यो मुख्यतस्योयमपारे षडपणी इमः
पारे वा तोयमन्येषां प्रमादेनोपरम्भतः ।

a fine of six panas is laid down for letting out the water of canals *otherwise than through the sluice-gate (चपारे)* and for hindering the flow of water through the same (पारे). This passage

confirms the existence of sluice-gates referred to by Megasthenes.

In the above couplet the word सेतुभः cannot be taken as the technical term for canals; for the term is a general one and has been used in several senses in the Arthaśāstra, e.g. bridges, watercourses, embankments.¹ But in Book II,² सीताऽधजः, we meet with the word कुर्खावापानां,³ which means countries where water is drawn from कुर्खा. This term कुर्खा means an artificial watercourse, and was perhaps the technical name for canals.

Special care was taken for keeping tanks and other waterworks in good repair, and the minimum fine in the case of those who were prone to neglecting them, viz. the owners of rent-free lands, was fixed at double the loss caused by their remissness.⁴ There were other regulations, e.g. one prohibiting men from emptying a tank of its water and from allowing the water of a higher tank to flow

¹ Bk. III, p. 166; Bk. II, pp. 47 and 60; Bk. VII, pp. 297 and 305.

² Also Bk. II, pp. 54 and 122.

³ (असितम् वर्षप्रमाणम्) हैमन्यानां च कुर्खावापानां च । p. 116.

⁴ अप्रतीकारे हीनद्विगुणो दद्धः, p. 170.

into a lower one unless the latter had been useless for three consecutive years.

§ 4 : *Meteorology*.—I cannot conclude this account of irrigation without pointing out that in those remote days the people had a workable knowledge of the science of meteorology. They had some sort of *rain-gauge* which enabled them to measure the rainfall in a particular tract of country in a given time.¹

- (i) शोङ्गद्रोणं काञ्जलानां वर्षप्रसाणम् सध्यर्धमानुपानां देशवा-
पानामध्यचयोदशास्त्रकानां चयोर्विश्विरवसीनामसितमपरानानां
हेमन्यानां च कुल्यावापानां च कालतः ।
- (ii) वर्षचिभागः पूर्वपञ्चमसात्योः, द्वौचिभागौमध्यसयोः मुषमा-
रुपम् ।
- (iii) तस्योपजन्व्यर्थृहस्यते सूखानगमनगमीधानेभ्यः शुक्रोद-
यासमयचारेभ्यः सूर्यस्य प्रवतिवैक्षताम् । सूर्याद्वैजिसिद्धिः ।
एहस्यते सूखानां खम्बकरिता । शुक्राद्वृष्टिरिति ।
- (iv) चयस्यप्राह्विकामेघा अश्रीतिः कणश्रीकरा:
पष्ठिरातपमेघानां एषा वृष्टिस्यप्राह्विता ।²

The lines quoted above show that they arrived

¹ कोष्ठागारे वर्षमानमरलिमुखं कुर्जं स्नापयेत्—Bk. II, उच्चि-
धात्वचेयकर्म, p. 58. A vessel with its mouth 1 aratni wide was
used as a *rain-gauge*, and one such vessel was put before the
store-house. (1 aratni=24 angulas=about 2 ft.; an angula=
the middle joint of the middle finger of a middle-sized man)—
मध्यस्य उवषस्य मध्यमाया अकुल्या मध्यप्रबर्षोऽकुलम्—Bk. II,
देशकालमानम्, p. 106.

² Vide सीताऽध्यच्छः, pp. 115, 116.

at definite conclusions as to the quantity of rainfall in particular places. In Jaṅgala (जङ्गल) countries the rainfall is 16 dronas (a drona being a cubic measure); in the country of the Aśmakas (अश्मक), $13\frac{1}{2}$ dronas; in Avantī (अवन्ती), 23 dronas, and so on [passage (i)]. Besides, the rainfall is considered to be even, if it occurs during the commencing and closing months, *i.e.* Srāvanya and Kārtika, and two-thirds in the middle months, *i.e.* Bhâdra and Âśvin [passage (ii)]. The third passage speaks of the forecast of rainfall that can be made by observing the position, motion, etc., of the sun and Venus and Jupiter; the germination of seeds can be inferred from them also. The last passage indicates an elaborate classification of the clouds according to their characteristics. It speaks of three kinds of such clouds as poured in heavy showers for seven days together, eighty kinds of clouds that rained minute drops, and sixty kinds that appeared with sunshine. All this shows that the science of meteorology was brought to such a developed stage that the people could depend on its conclusions and guide their actions in their day-to-day work of sowing seeds and reaping harvest.*

CHAPTER II.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LIVE STOCK:
CATTLE AND PASTURE.

WE have in the previous chapter dealt with some of the public works of utility as described in the Arthaśāstra. We have seen how a special department existed for the development of mining, the impetus to the discovery of mines being given in the shape of a share in the mines discovered;¹ and how the department was placed under the charge of experts conversant with all the processes of that difficult industry. We have also seen how the promotion of irrigation was looked upon as one of the duties of the State and was not left to

¹ If a private person discovered a mine, he got one-sixth of it as his share; if he happened to be a Government servant, one-twelfth: वनिरलनिधिनिवेदमेषु षष्ठमंश्यनिवेता लभेत् । इदं-
श्यमंश्य भूतकः । अतसहखादूर्ज्ञे राजगामी निधिः । उनेषष्ठमंशं
दद्यात्—Bk. IV, काश्करच्छम्, p. 202.

the meagre resources of private enterprise. In connexion with irrigation, we have also seen how the necessity of meteorological observations was recognized, and even simple contrivances were in use for purposes of rain-gauge (वर्षमानस् दृष्टिस्).

We shall now turn to other institutions of public utility maintained by the State. It is a noteworthy fact that the importance of live stock to India, pre-eminently the country of agriculture, was then fully realized, and special care was taken by the Government for their healthy growth and improvement. Even at the present day Indian agriculture has been held to be suffering much from want of proper grazing grounds and commons for cattle and of a proper supply of fodder;¹ but in Chandra Gupta's time we find a special department to provide for pastures and grazing grounds for a proper supply of fodder and for the welfare of live stock in general. There were no less

¹ Compare in this connexion the following extracts from the article on agriculture in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (new edition): "In the deltaic areas and in the rice-tracts generally, the cattle are miserably weak. Grazing lands are here limited or totally wanting . . . General improvement is hopeless without assured fodder supplies . . ."—Vol. iii, pp. 77, 78.

than six chief officers for running this department: (i) गोध्यक, the superintendent of cows; (ii) विवीताध्यक, the superintendent of pastures and grazing grounds; (iii) चूनाध्यक, the game-keeper; (iv) इस्त्राध्यक, the superintendent of elephants; (v) झाप्याध्यक, the superintendent of forests and forest produce; and (vi) अच्छाध्यक, the superintendent of horses.

Let us first turn to the first of these officers. It must not be supposed that the superintendent of cows, as the name indicates, had to take care of cows alone. In fact, he had to do with other animals also, such as buffaloes, sheep, goats, asses, camels, pigs, mules and dogs. One of his chief duties was to appoint milkers (*दोहक*), churners (*मन्यक*) and hunters (*लुभक*) for fixed wages, to each of whom was assigned a herd of 100 heads.¹ He had also to see that the bulls were tamed and trained to the yoke by the cowherds (*गोपालक*), and that strings were put through their noses,² as also

¹ गोपालक-पिण्डारक (buffalo-herdsman)—दोहक-मन्यक लुभकः इतं इतं चेन्मां हिरण्यभूताः पाष्ठयेयुः । शीरघृतभूता हि वसानुपश्चन्मुरिति वेतनोपग्राहिकम्—Bk. II, गोध्यकः, p. 128.

² दोहकालमतिज्ञामतस्यास्फलहानं दद्धः । एतेन नस्यदम्ययुगविभ्वनवर्तनकाणा चाशाताः—*Ibid.*, p. 180.

to settle terms with herdsmen for the tending of animals under their charge. These terms were of four kinds :—

(i) Appointing, on fixed wages, cowherds and buffalo-herdsmen, each of whom was placed in charge of 100 head. This arrangement was called वेतनप्रतिधाच्छक.¹

(ii) Appointing, on payment of a certain fee, cowherds, each of whom was placed in charge of a herd of 100 head, containing in equal numbers the following five classes of cattle, viz. aged cows (*ज्वरद्दगु*), milch cows (*धेनु*), pregnant cows (*गर्भिणी*), young cows (*पछौढ़ी*), and female calves (*वस्तरी*). The fee was 8 vârakas (*i.e.* $3\frac{3}{20}$ seers) of ghee, as well as the tail and branded² skin of dead cows. This system was called करप्रतिकर.³

(iii) Appointing, on the principle of profit-sharing, cowherds whose herd comprised cattle

¹ *Vide* footnote (1) on previous page.

² There were special brands to distinguish private cattle from the royal. Tampering with the royal brands was punishable : परपश्चनां राजाङ्गेन परिवर्तयिता रूपस्य पूर्वं साहसदण्डं दद्यात् ॥ (गोऽध्यक्षः) ।

³ ज्वरद्दगु-धेनु-गर्भिणी-पछौढ़ी-वस्तरीणां समविभागं रूपश्तमेकः पालयेत् । धृतस्याद्यौ वारकान् पणिकं पुच्छं अङ्गचर्म वार्षिकं दद्यादिति करप्रतिकरः ।—*Ibid.*

with diseased limbs (आधितान्यज्ञानि), those which could not be milked or were difficult to milk (अदोच्दुर्दैशः), and those that killed their calves (उत्तमी). Each herd was composed of the above four classes in equal numbers. As the tending of these herds was difficult, it was rewarded by a share in the out-turn from the herds. This arrangement was known as भगोत्कृष्टक.¹

(iv) Engagement of the services of the superintendent by private parties for tending their herds in the event of their own inability to do so, either from danger of thieves, or from apprehended danger from forests. In these cases, the fee charged by the Government was a tenth of the produce. This system was termed भागानुप्रविष्टक.²

One other particular regarding these herds should be noted in passing. The total number of each herd was fixed at 100, but the number of male animals in each herd varied with its

¹ आधितान्यज्ञान्यदोच्दुर्दैशापुत्रम्भीमां च समविभागं कृप-
शतम् पालयन्नक्षात्रिकं भागं इवुरिति भगोत्कृष्टकम्।

--*Ibid.*

² परचक्राटवी भयादनुप्रविष्टामां पश्चनां पालनधर्मेण इश-
भागं इवुरिति भागानुप्रविष्टकम्। --*Ibid.*

composition. A herd of 100 head of asses and mules was to contain five male animals; that of goats and sheep, ten; while that of cows, buffaloes or camels, four.¹

There was a *register of cattle*, kept by the superintendent. In it were noted the following varieties of cattle, viz.—male calves (*वत्सः*), steer (*वत्सतराः*), tamable draught oxen (*दम्यावच्छिनो षष्ठाः*), bulls for impregnating the herd (*उच्चरः पुङ्गवाः*), oxen for pulling carts drawn by pairs (*युग्मवाच्चनश्चकटवच्चाः दृषभाः*), cattle of which the flesh was food (*स्फनाः*), buffaloes (*महिषाः*), draught buffaloes (*इष्टखन्धवाच्छिनः महिषाः*), female calves (*वसिकाः*), heifers (*वत्सतरी*), young cows (*पञ्चौद्धी*), pregnant cows (*गर्भिणी*), milch cows (*धेनु*), cows and buffaloes that had not yet calved (*अप्रजाताः*) or were barren (*वन्ध्याः*), male and female calves only a month or two old or still younger (*मासद्विमासजातासामासुपञ्चा वत्सा वसिकाश्च*).² These, together with the cattle that strayed away and were not claimed for a month or two by the owner who lost them (*मासद्विमास पञ्चुषिताः*), were branded, and the superintendent registered each of them

¹ पञ्चर्षभं खराभ्नानामजावीर्णं दशर्षमम्.
शक्यं गोमहिषोऽप्ताणां यूथं कुर्याच्चतुर्वृषम्।—*Ibid.*

² *Vide* “गोऽध्यक्षः”।

according to its class as mentioned above, and also according to the brand, natural signs, colour, and distance between the horns. This duty of the superintendent was termed व्रजपर्यगम्.¹

The superintendent had also to take note of those animals that were missing (नष्ट) and also of those that were lost for good (विनष्ट). Those that were stolen, had got mixed up in the herds of others, or had disappeared in other ways, were called नष्ट. Animals were regarded as विनष्ट when they met with either natural or violent death. Thus, it was recorded whether they died of poison, disease, old age, from being buried in mire or drowned in water; whether killed by tree or stone falling upon them, struck by lightning (ईमान), or fallen a prey to tiger, snake, crocodile or forest fire.²

The State fixed the scale and standard of diet normally necessary to keep up the health, vigour and working capacity of all live stock.

¹ अङ्गं चिङ्गं वर्णं प्रदङ्गान्तरं च जात्येव मुपजानिवन्धेदिति व्रजपर्यगम्।—*Ibid.*

² चोरहतमन्ययूथप्रविष्टमवस्थीनं वा नष्टम् पङ्क-विषम-आधिजरा सीयाधारावस्थं द्वचतटकाष्ठशिलाभिहतमीशानबालसर्प-याह दावामिविपञ्चं विनष्टं प्रसादादभ्याभवेयः—*Ibid.*

The following table gives particulars about the dietary of bulls that were provided with nose-strings and equalled horses in speed and carrying loads.¹

For the aforesaid bulls :—

Quantities.	Approximate modern equivalents.
½ bhāra of meadow-grass (यवस)	1½ seer.
1½ bhāra of straw (तण्ण)	3 seers.
1 tulū of oil-cakes, with cheese ² if necessary to make them more palatable	2½ chataks.
10 Adhakas of bran (कण्ठकुण्ड)	12 chataks.
5 palas of salt (मुखलवण)	2½ sikis (about ½ kancha).
1 prastha of drink (पान)	1½ kancha.
1 tulū of मांस, i.e. fleshy part or pulp of fruits . .	2½ chataks.
1 drōṇa of barley (यव) or of cooked bean (माष) .	4½ chataks.
1 Adhaka of curd (दधि)	1½ chatak.
1 drōṇa of milk (चीर)	4½ chataks.
½ Adhaka of liquor (सुरा)	2½ kanchas.
1 prastha of oil or ghee (सैङ्घ)	1½ kancha.
10 palas of molasses (चार)	4½ sikis.
1 pala of ginger (गृजिवेर) may be substituted for drink (पान)	1½ or about 1½ siki.
1 kuḍumba of oil for rubbing over the nose (तेलकु-डुम्बोनस्य)	1½ siki. ³

¹ वस्त्रीवर्दीनां नस्याच्चभद्रगतिवाच्चिनां यवसस्यार्धमारः, etc.—गोध्यचः ।

² किलाटो—(cheese)—घाणपिण्डाक—(oil-cakes)—ज्ञेदार्थ—Ibid.

³ The above measurements have been made on the basis of गुञ्ज (gunja) seed or two माष's (mâshas) being taken as the unit of calculation, equivalent to 1½ grains (Troy). See the chapter

The same quantities of the above commodities less by one-quarter formed the food of mules, cows and asses; and twice the above quantities were given to buffaloes and camels. The quantities fixed above, however, could be varied to suit the needs of particular occasions. For example, the rations allowed to oxen kept to work were proportioned to the length of time they were worked, and in the case of cows that were milked, an increase was made in the amount of food.¹ The main items of food were of course water and straw, which were always given in plenty to all cattle,² while whey (चर्वित) was given to pigs and dogs.³

There were various rules regarding the milking of cattle and the standard of dairy produce of all kinds. The milkers had to milk

entitled तुल्यामानपौत्राम् (Bk. II), which describes the weights and measures then in vogue. The measurements given therein coincide in the main with those arrived at independently from other Sanskrit works by Monier Williams in his famous Dictionary.

¹ पादोनमस्ततरगोखराणां, द्विगुणं सहिष्ठोद्धाराणां कर्मकरबली-वर्दनानां, पायनार्थानां च धेनुनां, कर्मकालातः फलसस्य विधादानम् ।

² सर्वेषां द्वयोदकप्रकार्यमिति गोमज्जलं चाखातम् ।

³ उदीश्वत् अवराहेभ्यो इत्युः ।

the cattle once or twice a day according to the seasons. Thus, in the rainy and autumnal seasons and in the first part of winter (द्वेषन्त), they had to milk both in the morning and in the evening, while in the other seasons, only once in the day ; and if anyone violated this rule and milked a second time, he was visited with the cruel penalty of having his thumb cut off. They had to milk at stated hours and make good any loss caused by neglect of this rule.¹

The churners had generally to conform to certain fixed proportions in regard to the preparations of milk. Thus, it was fixed that 1 prastha, *i.e.* $1\frac{1}{3}$ kancha, of ghee would be produced from 1 drona, *i.e.* $4\frac{1}{3}$ chataks, of cow's milk, one-fifth as much more from the same quantity of buffalo milk, and one-half as much more from the same quantity of milk of a goat or sheep. Where any variation of the above proportions occurred, as it must occur through a change in the quantity and quality of the food given to cattle, the exact quantity of ghee was ascertained by actual churning,

¹ वर्षाधरद्वेषन्तानुभवतः कालं दद्युः । शिशिरवसन्तशीघ्रानेक-
कालम् । द्वितीयकालदोषधुरकुष्ठच्छेदो दण्डः ।—दोषकालमति-
क्रामतस्तु फलाहानं दण्डः ।—(गोधच्चः) ।

and was fixed as the modified standard to which churners had to conform.¹

Besides the rules relating to the yield of living cattle, there were also rules regarding that of the dead. In case of the natural death of a cow or a buffalo, the herdsmen had to surrender the skin with the branded mark. The same rule applied to the cases of goat, sheep, ass, camel, etc. The herdsmen had also to give up the fat, bile, marrow, teeth, hoofs, horns and bones of the dead animals.²

Again, animals like goats and sheep were shorn every six months, and their wool (जर्जा) was made over to the superintendent.³

MEDICAL TREATMENT OF CATTLE.

It was also the duty of herdsmen to apply medicines to diseased animals. The due dis-

¹ चीरद्रोगे गवां धृतप्रस्थः । पञ्चभागाधिको महिपाणी । द्विभागाधिकोऽजावीनां । सन्यो वा सर्वेषां प्रमाणं भूमिलष्टोदकविशेषाद्वि चीरधृतद्विर्भवति ।—(गोऽध्यच्छः) ।

² कारणसत्स्याङ्गचर्म गोमहिषस्य कर्णलक्षणमजाविकानाम् पुच्छमङ्गचर्म चाच्छखरोद्घाणां बालचर्म-वस्त्र-पित्त-खायुइनाखुर-पृष्ठाखीनि चाहरेयुः ।—*Ibid.*

³ अजादीनां षाएमासिकीमूर्दी याहयेत । तेनाच्छखरोद्घवराह-बजा याश्चाताः ।—*Ibid.*

charge of this important duty was secured by a healthy rule providing that when, owing to defects in medicine or carelessness in the treatment, the disease of an animal became serious, a fine of twice the cost of the treatment should be imposed ; and when, owing to defects in the nature of the medicine itself, the animal died, a fine equal to the value of the animal was imposed.¹

Lastly, there were several humane regulations to prevent the cruel treatment of animals. There was a fine of 1 or 2 paṇas² by which causing pain with sticks, etc., to minor quadrupeds was punished. This fine was doubled when the beating caused the animal to bleed. In the case of larger quadrupeds the above rates were doubled, and, in addition, an adequate compensation was demanded to cover the expense of curing the beasts.³

¹ बालदृश्याधितानं गोपालकाः प्रतिकृद्यः ।—*Ibid.*

क्रिया भैषज्यसङ्गेन आधिवृद्धौ प्रतीकारद्विगुणो दण्डः । तदवरीघेन चैलम्ये पचमूल्ये दण्डः । तेन गोपालकां खरोद्धमहिषमजायिकं च व्याख्यातम् ।—Bk. II, अच्छाध्यक्षः, p. 135.

² A paṇa is a weight of copper used as a coin = 20 māshas = 4 kālinis.—Monier Williams.

³ चुद्रपश्चनां काष्ठादिभिर्दुखोत्पादने पणो द्विपणो वा दण्डः । शोणितीत्यादेन द्विगुणः । महापश्चनामेतेष्ववस्थानेषु द्विगुणो दण्डः, समुत्पानव्ययम् ।—Bk. III, दण्डपारथम्, p. 197.

We find it laid down that cattle such as a calf, bull or milch cow must not be slaughtered. A fine was imposed on those who slaughtered or tortured the animals to death.¹

We have seen already how the diet of cattle was regulated. We shall now see what arrangement was made for grazing them on pastures. For opening, preserving and improving the grazing grounds, a separate superintendent, called विवीताध्यक्ष, was appointed. He had to observe various rules regarding the working of his department. We find it distinctly laid down that the same forest could not be used as pasture for the cattle of neighbouring villages and towns throughout the whole year. Particular forests were assigned to particular seasons (ऋतुविभक्तमरणम्). Thus a system of rotation was introduced by which the pastures were kept up unimpaired, with their resources unexhausted by continuous use.² Pastures were generally opened

¹ वत्सो दृषो षेनुस्येषामवधाः । घातः पञ्चाशत्को दण्डः ।
क्षिष्टधातं घातयतस्मि ।—Bk. II, सूनाध्यक्षः, p. 122.

² सुभ्यकश्चगणिभिरपाक्ष सेनवाजपरवाधभयमृतुविभक्तमरणम्
चारयेयुः—Bk. II, गोध्यक्षः ।

in forests, in uncultivated tracts, and in intermediate areas between places infested by wild animals, thus promoting at the same time the reclamation of waste lands.¹ There were thus several pastures in a locality, and it was the business of the herdsman to see which of them would suit the cattle under his charge. He was naturally guided by two considerations, viz. the physical strength of his cattle and the degree of protection from danger available either from persons or from the security of the place.²

As to the kinds of animals that were allowed admission into the grazing grounds, we have information from two passages,³ the first of which mentions cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses, and mules; the second, which appears in a different context, referring

¹ अङ्गस्थायां भूमौ पशुभ्यो विवीतानि प्रयच्छेत् । (Bk. II, भूमि-च्छिद्विधानम्, p. 49); भयान्तरेषु च विवीतं स्थापयेत् । (Bk. II, विवीताध्यक्षः, p. 141); and छतुविभक्तमरणम् चारथेयुः (*supra*).

² उपनिवेशदिविभागे गोप्रचारान् वलान्वयते वा गर्वा रचा-सामर्थ्याच ।—Bk. II, गोध्यक्षः ।

³ (i) गोमहिषमजाविकं खरोद्भूमस्तराच्च व्रजः—Bk. II, समा-हत्तृसुद्यप्रस्थापनम्, p. 60.

(ii) गवाच्चरथोद्धानां च व्रजः—Bk. VII, हीनशक्तिपूरणम्, p. 305.

to cows, horses and camels as being the animals that flourish on pastures and are the source of power to the king.

The safety of the cattle was one of the chief concerns of the superintendent of pastures. It was ensured by the appointment of hunters, who maintained a pack of hounds to aid them in their work of watching thieves and enemies and warding off danger from snakes, tigers, etc.¹ The hunters had recourse to the following means of calling in the aid of the king and the king's men :—

- (i) Blowing conch-shells and beating drums (शङ्ख-दुन्दुभिशब्दम्).
- (ii) Remaining concealed amid trees and mountains, and afterwards sending the information (शैलवृक्ष-विरुद्धाः).
- (iii) Riding away on swift horses, etc. (शीघ्रवाहनाः).
- (iv) Flying carrier pigeons belonging to the king's household, with royal passports attached to them (राज्ञः सुद्रायुक्तैः गद्वकपोतैः).

¹ चोर-वालभयानिम्नारणानि शोधयेत् । लुभ्यकञ्चगणिनः परिव्रजेयुररणानि—Bk. II, विवीताध्यच्चः, p. 141.

लुभ्यकञ्चगणिनिभिरपास स्तेन-वालपरवाधभयम् तु विभक्तमरणम् चारयेत्—Bk. II, गोध्यच्चः (also quoted *supra*).

(v) Announcing danger by a succession of beacon fires (धूमाभिपरम्परया).¹

Besides these general precautions that had to be adopted by the superintendent of pastures, the duty of taking special protective measures was thrown on the herdsmen themselves. They had to attach bells or other sounding instruments to the necks of timid animals. These served the double purpose of scaring away snakes and other undesirables and of helping the herdsmen to easily find out, by following the direction of the sound, the animals that went astray.² When the cattle required watering and bathing, their safety was secured by leading them only to those streams and ponds which were marked out as being free from mire (अकर्द्म) and crocodiles (अग्राह), and the approaches to which were gradually sloped instead of being abrupt and steep (समवृद्धतीर्थ).³

¹ तत्करामिचाभ्यागमे शृङ्खलुन्दुभिशब्दमप्राप्त्याः कुर्याः । शैलद्वच-
विशृङ्खला वा, श्रीप्रवाहना वा, अमिचाठवीसस्त्वारं च राजोगटहक-
पोतैसुद्रायुक्तेच्छारथेयुः, धूमाभिपरम्परया वा ।—Bk. II, विवी-
ताध्यक्षः, p. 141.

² सर्पव्यालवासनार्थं गोचरानुपातज्ञानार्थं च चक्षुनां घण्डात्मर्थं
च वशीयुः ।—Bk. II, गोध्यक्षः ।

³ समवृद्धतीर्थमकर्द्मग्राहसुदकमवतारथेयुः पालयेयुम्—Ibid.

Another direction for the guidance of the herdsmen was that they should divide the cattle, while grazing, into groups of ten according to colour, the object being to avoid confusion between herds and to facilitate the herdsman's work of singling out his herd after grazing.¹ The cowherds were strictly prohibited from allowing the bulls under their charge to fight in the grazing grounds, and were fined for violating the rule.²

There were also a few rules applying to losses of cattle by theft or otherwise. If any animal were stolen, or killed by snakes, etc., or died through old age or disease, the herdsmen had to report it forthwith to the superintendent of cows; otherwise, they had to pay as penalty the price (रूपमूल्य) of the animal lost.³ If an animal belonging to the flocks under गोऽध्यक्षः were killed or stolen, the crime was visited with capital punishment; but if it were

¹ वर्णावरोधेन दशवर्गीणां रक्षणं करणीयम् ।—*Ibid.*

² शुद्धदृष्टं वृषेणावपातयतः पूर्वः साहसदण्डः चातयतः उत्तमः । (पूर्वसाहसदण्ड—a fine ranging from 48 to 96 panas)—गोऽध्यक्षः ।

³ स्तेनबालसर्प-प्राह-गृहीतं वाधिजरावसन्नं च आवेदयेयु-रन्यथा रूपमूल्यं भजोरन् ।—*Ibid.*

replaced by another, only a fine was inflicted. Rewards were also given to those who recovered the stolen cattle from thieves.¹

¹ स्वयं हना घातयिता हर्ता हारयिता च वधः । परपश्चनां
राजाङ्केन परिवर्तयिता रूपस्य एकैकस्य पूर्वं साहसदण्डं दद्यात् ।
सदेशीयानां चोरहृतं प्रत्यानीय पणितं रूपं हरेत् । परदेशी-
यानां मोक्षयिताऽर्थं हरेत्—*Ibid.*

CHAPTER III.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LIVE STOCK (*continued*): ★ GAME, FORESTS AND HORSES.

IN the last chapter have been described the functions of two of the six chief officers who were to perform special duties in connexion with live stock, viz. the superintendent of cows and the superintendent of pastures. The present chapter will detail the functions of three of the remaining officers, viz. the gamekeeper, the superintendent of forests, and the superintendent of horses.

THE GAMEKEEPER.

The Government of Chandra Gupta addressed itself in various ways to the protection of lower animals. There were issued specific regulations affording State protection to certain classes of animals, and for this purpose were

also established and maintained forests (अभयवन), the animals whereof were exempted from capture, molestation and slaughter. Into these forests none could enter, and the violation of this rule was visited with fines.¹ For the enforcement of these regulations a special superintendent was appointed called सूनाध्यक्ष (gamekeeper).

The following were the classes of animals that were given protection :—

(i) Birds, deer and other animals living in the forests under State protection, as well as fishes in the ponds therein.²

(ii) Those birds, fishes, deer and other animals that do not prey upon life.³

(iii) Calves, bulls and milch cows.⁴

(iv) Ocean animals resembling elephant,

¹ प्रदिष्टाभयानासभयवनवाचिनां च मृग-पशु-पचि-मत्स्यानां वन्धवघङ्गिंसाधामुक्तम् दण्डं कारयेत् । कुटुम्बिनां अभयवनपरियहेषु मध्यम् ।—Bk. II, सूनाध्यक्षः, p. 122.

उत्तम दण्ड, a fine ranging from 500 to 1000 paṇas; मध्यम दण्ड, a fine ranging from 200 to 500 paṇas.—Bk. III, साहस्रम्, p. 192.

² See the foregoing passage.

³ अप्रदृशवधानां मत्स्यपच्चिणां वन्धवघङ्गिंसाधां पादोनसमविंशति (26½)—पणमत्ययं कुर्यात् । मृगपशुनां द्विगुणं ।—(सूनाध्यक्षः) ।

⁴ वत्सो दृषो वेनुवैषामवधाः । घातः पञ्चाशत्को दण्डः । क्लिष्टघातं घातयत्वा ।—Ibid.

horse, man, ox or ass. This, by the way, points to a close familiarity with the ocean and marine life.¹

(v) Fishes in rivers, lakes and canals (कुरुक्षा).²

(vi) A few game-birds, specifically named as follows: सारस (crane) in rivers, lakes and canals, ऋौच (osprey), उत्त-क्रोष्टक (sea-eagle), दात्यूह (gallinule, an aquatic bird), चंच (goose or gander, swan, flamingo, etc.), चक्रवाक् (Brahmany duck), जीवञ्जीवक (a kind of pheasant), भृजराज (fork-tailed shrike), चकोर (partridge), मत्तकोकिल (cuckoo), मधूर (peacock), शुक (parrot), मदनशारिका (*Turdus salica*—birds like mainâ).³

(vii) Those birds and beasts that were regarded as sacred.⁴

Moreover, tolls were levied upon the capture

¹ सामुद्र हस्तयन्त-पुरुष-वृष-गर्धभाक्षतयः—सूतनाधच्छः ।

² मत्स्याः नादेयास्ताककुरुक्षोङ्गवाः—*Ibid.*

³ सारसा नादेयास्ताककुरुक्षोङ्गवाः । ऋौच-उत्तक्रोष्टक-दात्यूह-हंस-चक्रवाक्-जीवञ्जीवक-भृजराज - चकोर - मत्तकोकिल - मधूर-शुक-मदन-शारिका विहार-पक्षिणो माझस्यास्यान्येपि प्राणिनः पक्षिमृगा चिंसादाषेभ्यो रक्ष्याः । रक्षातिक्रमे पूर्वसावसदण्डः (a fine ranging from 48 to 96 pañcas).—*Ibid.*

⁴ माझस्यास्यान्येपि प्राणिनः पक्षिमृगा चिंसादाषेभ्यो रक्ष्याः—(Supra.) An interesting list of protected animals, some of which also appear in this list, is given in Asoka's Rock Edict V.

of those birds, beasts or fishes that preyed upon life and were thus the legitimate objects of capture. Of the live captured animals, the gamekeeper took a sixth, to be afterwards set at large in special forests under the State, and a tenth or more was appropriated by Government.¹

For the safety of the protected animals in the State forests, any animal growing vicious or in any way harmful to the rest was captured and killed outside the forests.²

HUNTING FORESTS.

Hunting down game animals in the hunting forests was allowed, and not only the king himself but also private individuals enjoyed the privilege. We learn from Asoka's Rock Edict VIII that it was a practice with the kings to go out on hunting excursions, which Asoka abolished in the eleventh year of his reign. Megasthenes also describes the

¹ प्रष्टजहिंसानां परिगत्वीतानां षड्भागं गट्कीयात् । मत्यपचिष्ठां दशभागं वाधिकं सृगपश्चनां शुल्कं वाधिकं । पचिसृगणां जीवत्पद्भागं अभयवनेषु प्रसुच्छेत् ।—(सूक्नाथच्चः) ।

² दुष्टाः पशुसृगव्याला मत्याच्चाभयचारिणः
अन्यत्र गुप्तिस्थानेभ्यो वधवान्वमवाम्बुद्यः ।—*Ibid.*

grand scale on which the royal hunting was organized.¹

It seems from the extract of the Arthaśāstra quoted below that the king had a hunting forest exclusively for his own use. It was provided with only one entrance (एकद्वार) and had a canal running round it to ward off intrusion (खातगुप्त). Inside were planted fruit-trees, thornless plants, creepers and shrubs (खादुफलगुच्छमकष्टकिङ्गुम्), and there was also a large tank (उत्तानतोयाश्वयं). There roamed at large not only the milder game animals (दान्तमृगचतुष्पद) but also some of the wilder ones, but deprived of their natural offending weapons like nails and teeth: viz. tigers, male, female and young elephants, and other game animals (भग्नखदंद्वयाज्ञ-मार्गायुक-हस्ति-हस्तिनी-कज्जल-मृगवन्).²

Besides this imperial hunting forest, there were other hunting forests³—all under the

¹ Megasthenes, Bk. II, Fragment xxvii.

² तावन्माचमेकद्वारं खातगुप्तं खादुफलगुच्छमकष्टकिङ्गुम्-
सुत्तानतोयाश्वयं दान्तमृगचतुष्पदं भग्नखदंद्वयाज्ञमार्गायुक-हस्ति-
हस्तिनी-कज्जल-मृगवन् विहारार्थं राज्ञः कारयेत् ।—Bk. II, भूमि-
चिह्नविधानम्, p. 49.

³ सर्वातिथिमृगं प्रत्यन्ते चान्यमृगमनं भूमिवशेन वा निवेश्येत् ।

—Bk. II, भूमिचिह्नविधानम् ।

general superintendent (कुप्याधच्च), who had another duty to perform in connexion with live stock, viz. the capture, when needed, of birds and beasts under his care.¹

THE SUPERINTENDENT OF HORSES.

The superintendent of horses had manifold duties to perform, viz. : (1) to keep a register of horses ; (2) to classify them according to breed, age, colour, marks, size, etc. ; (3) to provide for their stabling ; (4) to determine their rations ; (5) to break and train them according to their mettle ; (6) to provide for their medical treatment by veterinary surgeons ; and (7) to arrange for the taking of proper care of them in other ways, as detailed below.

Registration and classification.

Horses were registered not only according to their natural qualities, but also in several artificial but convenient ways. Thus, horses were regarded as belonging to the three classes or types of तीक्ष्ण (fiery), भद्र (gentle) and मन्द

¹ अज्ञारतुषभस्त्रानि सृगपश्चपच्चिवालीवाटा: काष्ठटणवाटा-
चेति ।—Bk. II, कुप्याधच्चः, p. 100.

(sluggish).¹ They were also classified according to the places of their origin. Among these have been mentioned the following places, some of which have been identified :—

- (1) काश्मोज (Kâmbhôja), (2) सिन्धु (Sindhu), (3) आरह (Âraṭṭa), (4) बनायु (Banâyu), (5) वाल्हीक (Bâlhîka), (6) सौवीर (Sauvîra), (7) पापेय (Pâpeya), (8) तैतल (Taitala).²

¹ तेषां तीक्ष्णभद्रमन्दवशेन साङ्गाञ्चमीपवाञ्छकं वा कम्भे प्रयो-
जयेत् ।—Bk. II, अच्चाध्यक्षः, p. 183.

² प्रयोग्यानासु जमाः काश्मोजकसैन्धवारहजबनायुजाः । मध्यमा-
वाल्हीक-पापेयक-सौवीरक-तैतलाः । इषाः प्रत्यवराः ।—Ibid.

Identifications :—

- (1) काश्मोज—Afghanistan: Kaofu (Kambu) of Hiuen Tsiang. (N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*.)
- (2) सिन्धु—Sindh.
- (3) आरह—Punjab, land of the Arâshtrakas, i.e. the king-less. (Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 215.)
- (4) बनायु—Arabia. (वाचस्पत्यम् of T. N. Tarkavachaspati.)
- (5) वाल्हीक—Balkh in Central Asia. (Monier Williams.)
- (6) सौवीर—or Sophir of the Bible; according to Cunningham, the same as the modern Eder in Guzerat. (*Geogr. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 497.)

It is interesting to note that almost all the places mentioned above appear in the following sloka of the Râmâyana :—

काश्मोजविषये जातैर्वाल्हीकैश्च हयोजमैः

बनायुजैर्णदीजैश्च पूर्णा हरि हयोजमैः ।

—Bâlakânda, Sarga 6, sloka 22.

नदीजाः in the sloka = सिन्धुनदी समीपोङ्गवाः । (Râmânuja.)

Of these places the first four were held to supply the best breed of horses, and the remaining four, horses of the second quality. Horses of inferior quality came from other places. Thirdly, there was another method used to classify horses, viz. by the way in which horses were procured. According to this method, horses could be of the following descriptions :—

(1) पण्डागारिकं (brought to the sale-house for sale); (2) क्रयोपागतम् (recently purchased); (3) आहवल्लभम् (captured in war); (4) आजातम् (of local breed); (5) साहाय्यकागतम् (sent for help as loan); (6) वनस्पतं (wild and fresh from forest); (7) यावत्कालिकं (kept in the stable only for a while).¹

A method of testing horses.

The mettle of a horse was inferred from certain measurements of parts of its body as explained below :—

The face (मुख) of the best horse measures
32 angulas.

¹ अस्माधक्षः पण्डागारिकं क्रयोपागतमाहवल्लभमाजात साहाय्य-
कागतकं वनस्पतं यावत्कालिकं वाऽन्नपर्यगं कुलवयोवर्णचिङ-
वर्गागमैल्लेखयेत् ।—(अस्माधक्षः) ।

Its length (चायाम), five times its face = 160 angulas.

Its shank (जङ्गा), 20 angulas.

Its height (उत्तेष्ठ), four times its shank = 80 angulas.

A defect of 3 angulas must be allowed in the above measurements in respect of horses of the second quality, and of 6 angulas in respect of inferior qualities.

The girth (परिणाम) of the best horse is 100 angulas;

of horses of second quality, 95 angulas;

of horses of lowest quality, 90 angulas.¹

Stables.

The provision of suitable stables was one of the chief duties of the superintendent. This is also hinted at by Megasthenes.²

The size of each stable was of course determined by the number of horses to be kept therein. The length of each room of the

¹ द्वाचिंशदकुलं सुखसुन्नमाभ्यस्य, पञ्चसुखाभ्यायामः, विष्ट्यजुला जङ्गा, चतुर्जङ्गं उत्तेष्ठः, व्यजुलावरं मध्यमावरयोः, इताकुलः परिणामः, पञ्चभागावरं मध्यमावरयोः:—*Ibid.*

² “There are royal stables for the horses and elephants . . .” —Bk. III, Fragment xxxiv.

stable was to be double the length of a horse. It had four doors on the four sides, and an open space in the middle where horses could roll themselves.

The breadth of the apartment for each horse was to be four times the width of the horse, and its floor was to be paved with smooth wooden planks (स्त्रक्षणफलकास्तारं). It must have a trough for food (सखादनकोष्ठक), and be provided with apertures for the removal of excreta. The rooms should face preferably the north and the east. Horses, mares and colts had separate compartments.

There were spacious corridors (सप्रधीवा) in the stable provided with doors, and there were seats and pegs (आसन-फलक) for monkeys, peacocks, spotted deer (शष्टत), mongooses (नकुल), partridges (चकोर), parrots (शूक) and mainās (शारिका).¹ The object of keeping these animals in the stable becomes apparent from a passage

¹ अश्वविभवेनायतामश्वानाम् द्विगुणविक्षारां चतुर्द्वारोपावर्त्त-
नमध्यां सप्रधीवां प्रद्वारासनफलकयुक्तां चानन्द-मयूर-शष्टत-नकुल-
चकोर-शूक-शारिकाभिराकीर्णां शालां निवेशयेत् ।

अश्वानाम् चतुरब्दस्त्रक्षणफलकास्तारं सखादनकोष्ठकं समूच-
पुरीषोत्तर्सर्गमेकैकशः प्राङ्मुखमुद्दम्भुसं वा स्थानं निवेशयेत् ।
शालावशेन वा दिग्बिभागं कल्पयेत् । वडवाष्टषकिश्वोराणां
एकान्तेषु ।—(अश्वाध्वचः) ।

in Bk. I, निशानप्रणिधि:, which runs as follows :—
 “ Cats (मार्जीर), peacocks (मधूर), mungooses (नकुल) and spotted deer destroy snakes ; parrots (शक), mainâs (शास्त्रिका) or fork-tailed shrikes (भृङ्गराज) shriek out when they smell poison ; ospreys (झौल) get excited in the vicinity of poison, pheasants (जीवञ्चीवक) feel distressed, cuckoos (मञ्जकोकिल) die, and partridges (चकोर) reddens their eyes.”¹ It may be noted in this connexion that the practice of keeping monkeys in stables in the belief that horses keep good health in their company, still obtains.

Rations.

The superintendent regulated the rations of the horses under his charge in the following ways :—

For the best horse :—

	Quantities.	Modern equivalents.
2 drôgas (द्रोण) of any one of these grains, viz. शालि, ख्रीचि (rice), barley (घब), panic-seed or mustard-seed (प्रियङ्गु) half-dried or half-cooked, or boiled मुड़ or माष (kinds of pulse)	9½	chataks.

¹ मार्जीरमधूरनकुलधृष्टतोत्सर्गस्मर्पान् भज्यन्ति । शकशास्त्रिका भृङ्गराजो वा सर्पविषधङ्गायां क्रोधति । झौलो विषाभाघे माद्यन्ति । म्लायति जीवञ्चीवकः । चिथते मञ्जकोकिलः । चकोरस्माच्चिणी विरज्जते ।—Bk. I, निशानप्रणिधि:, p. 40.

	Quantities.	Modern equivalents.
1 prastha (प्रस्थ) of oil	1½ kancha.	
5 palas (पल) of salt	2½ sikis.	
50 palas of मांस (fleshy part or pulp of fruits)	1 chatak 4 sikis.	
1 अङ्घका (अङ्घक) of रस (drink)	1½ chatak.	
2 अङ्घकास of curd (दधि)	2½ chataks.	
5 palas of sugar (चार) for making food palatable	2½ sikis.	
1 prastha of liquor	1½ kancha.	
2 prasthas of milk (पश्च)	2½ kanchas.	

Those horses that were tired by long journey or by carrying loads were given 1 prastha of oil or ghee more for perfuming their food (अनुवासन), 1 kudumba ($1\frac{1}{2}$ siki) of oil or ghee for rubbing over the nose, $\frac{1}{2}$ bhâra (भार), i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer, of meadow-grass (चवस), twice as much of straw (वृक्ष) and hay for a bedding of 6 aratins (12 ft.) or as much straw as can be held within the arms (षडरत्ति: परिक्षेपः पुंजीलभास्त्रो वा वृणस्य भुजद्वयपरिक्षेपगथाद्यः).

The same quantity of rations less by one-quarter was given to horses of medium and inferior quality. A draught horse or stallion of medium size was given the same quantity as the best horse, and draught horses of lower size the same quantity as a horse of medium quality.

Mares and mules (परम्परम्प) were given one-

quarter less of rations. A mare that had just given birth to a colt was given 1 prastha or $1\frac{1}{2}$ kancha of ghee for the first three days ; then for the next ten days, 1 prastha, i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ kancha, of घना (i.e. pounded gram, etc.), and oil or ghee mixed with medicine. Afterwards, she was given उचाक (boiled rice), यस्त (meadow-grass), and other things suited to the season.

Half the rations of mares was generally given to colts ; but a colt of ten days was fed on $\frac{1}{4}$ kudumba ($\frac{1}{4}$ siki) of ghee, 1 kudumba ($1\frac{1}{2}$ siki) of घना and 1 prastha ($1\frac{1}{2}$ kancha) of milk till it was six months old. Gradually, the above rations were increased half as much during each succeeding month, with the addition of 1 prastha of barley, till it became three years old. It was given 1 drôṇa ($4\frac{1}{2}$ chataks) of barley until four years of age, when it became fully developed and serviceable.

Training given to horses.

Horses were employed for the purposes of war or for ordinary purposes, according to their mettle. They were therefore trained not only for ordinary work of the State in times of peace

(चौपदाच्छकं), but also for the more difficult movements required in war (संग्राम). The latter movements were of the following kinds :—

(i) वृत्तान् (circular movement) :—(a) चौपदेषुक (turning in a circle with a diameter = 1 cubit); (b) वर्द्धमानक (advancing, and yet turning in a circle as above); (c) घमक (running the figure-of-eight); (d) आखीदसुत (running and jumping simultaneously); (e) इथाह (movement of only the forepart of the body); (f) लवचासी (movement of only the hinder portion of the body).

(ii) नीचैर्गत (slow movement with the head and ears kept erect) :—(a) प्रकीर्णक (a combination of the movements mentioned above); (b) प्रकीर्णेन्तर (same as the previous, but with one kind of movement kept prominent); (c) निषष्ठ (a movement in which the hinder part of the body is kept steady); (d) पार्श्वानुष्टुप् (movement sideways); (e) उर्जिमार्ग (movement up and down like a wave); (f) शरभक्रीड़ित (playing like a शरभ, a kind of deer); (g) शरभसुत (leaping like a शरभ); (h) त्रिताळ (a movement using only three legs); (i) वाच्छानुबृत (moving right and left); (j) पञ्चपाणि (movement by using two and three legs alternately); (k) सिंहायत

(pacing like a lion); (*l*) साधूत (long strides); (*m*) लंबित (moving straight without a rider); (*n*) चापित (moving with the forepart of the body bent); (*o*) बृचित (moving with the hinder part of the body bent); (*p*) उष्माभिकीर्ण (zig-zag motion).

(iii) छड़न (jumping):—(*a*) कपिष्ठुत (jumping like a monkey); (*b*) भेक्षुन (jumping like a frog); (*c*) एकम्भुत (sudden jump); (*d*) एकपादम्भुत (jumping with one leg); (*e*) कोकिलसंचारि (leaping like a cuckoo); (*f*) ऊरस्य (dashing with the breast almost touching the ground); (*g*) वक्चारी (leaping like a crane).

(iv) घोरण (gallop):—(*a*) काङ्क (imitating the flight of a heron); (*b*) वारिकाङ्क (dashing like a water-duck); (*c*) मधूर (running like a peacock); (*d*) अर्हमधूर (half the speed of a peacock); (*e*) नाकूल (dashing like a mongoose); (*f*) अर्हनाकूल (half the speed of a mongoose); (*g*) वाराह (running like a boar); (*h*) अर्हवाराह (half the speed of a boar).

(v) नारोइ is सज्जाप्रतिकार, i.e. response to signals.

Over and above these a few kinds of trot are enumerated as follows:—

(1) मार्ग:—(*a*) विक्रम (trotting according to strength); (*b*) भद्राचार (trotting with good

breathing); (c) भारवाच्च (trotting with a load on the back). (2) धारा :—(a) विक्रम (pacing according to strength); (b) चक्षित (pacing with circular movement); (c) उपकष (pacing with gallops); (d) उपचर (middle speed); (e) जब (low speed).¹

Medical treatment of horses.

The superintendent had to report to the king the number of horses that were diseased or had defective limbs (अप्रस्थान्यज्ञव्याधितांशावेदयेत्), and put them under the treatment of veterinary surgeons, whose duty was not only to treat the diseases of horses, but also to see that all parts of their body were harmoniously developing. They gave advice to the superintendent regarding the change of diet of the horses to suit particular seasons. They were fined if the diseases were aggravated or took a bad turn, and had to make good the loss if a horse died through defective treatment.²

¹ The explanation of the above technical terms has been taken mostly from the Commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmī.

² अच्छानां चिकित्सकाः श्रीराजासृष्टिप्रतीकारम् तु विभक्तम् चाहारम् (प्रतिदिशेयुः) — (अच्छाध्यच्चः)।

क्रियाभैषज्यसङ्गेन व्याधिबृद्धौ प्रतीकारद्विगुणो दण्डः । तदप-
राधेन वैलोम्ये पञ्चम्यं दण्डः । — *Ibid.*

A few other rules.

As regards the distances to be traversed by draught horses, the rule was that they should run six, nine, and twelve yojanas¹ according to their quality. Five, eight, and ten yojanas were the maximum limits of distance for riding horses.

Horses disabled by disease, age or war and rendered unfit for active service were relieved from all work.²

The grooms (सूचप्राप्तक), those who bound them in stables (अच्चवन्धक), supplied meadow-grass (यावसिकः), prepared the meals of horses (विधापाचक), watched the stables (स्थानपालक), dressed their hair (केशकार), and detected poison (जाहुलीविद्) were liable to a fine of a day's wages for neglect of duty.³ The जाहुलीविदः were the grooms, cooks and veterinary surgeons, for it was they who had to taste the

¹ A yojana = 8½ miles.

वस्त्र इदं श्रेति योजनाम्यधा रथानां पश्चयोजनाम्यधाएष-
भानि दशेति इष्टवाच्छानामस्थानामधा ।—(अच्चाध्यक्षः) ।

² चुद्याधिजराकर्मचीणाः पिण्डगोचारिकाः स्तुरस्तमरप्रयोज्याः ।
पौरजानपदानाम् अर्थेन बृहा बड़वासु आयोज्याः ।—*Ibid.*

³ कस्यातिक्रमे तेषां दिवसवेतनस्त्रेदनं कुर्यात् ।—*Ibid.*

food of the horses.¹ The attendants of horses were enjoined to make a careful use of what they brought from the treasury or the store-house for purposes of the stables, so as to prevent waste.² There were expert rope-makers for making ropes for horses ; while the manufacture of accoutrements was the work of the chariot-makers (*स्त्रताः*).³

Ceremonies observed for the welfare of horses.

In conclusion, it should be remarked that horses were accorded an almost human treatment, which indicates the great value attached to them. Besides the rules prescribed by experience and science to secure the health and well-being of horses, there were certain religious ceremonies observed to influence unseen forces in their favour. The horses were regularly washed, bedaubed with sandal, and even garlanded twice a day. On new-moon days, the

¹ विधापादक सूचनाहक चिकित्सकाः प्रतिस्थादभाजः ।—*Ibid.*

² कोश्यकोष्टागाराभ्याम् च गृहीत्वा मासज्ञाभम् अन्धवाहस्त्रिन्न-
यत् ।—*Ibid.*

³ तेषां बन्धनोपकरणं योग्याचार्याः प्रतिदिश्येतुः । सांघारिकं
रथाच्चालकारं च स्त्रताः ।—*Ibid.*

sacrifice to *Bhūtas* was performed ; and on full-moon days, auspicious hymns were chanted. On the ninth day of the month of Âsvin, and also at the beginning and end of journeys, the priest invoked blessings on horses by performing the ceremony of आरति, or the waving of lights.¹

¹ इरक्षानमभानं गम्भास्यं च दापयेत्
स्त्रियसन्धिषु भूतेभ्यः शुक्लेषु सक्षिवाचनम् ।
नीराजनामास्युजे कारयेत्त्रवस्थेहनि
याचादाववसाने वा व्याधी वा शान्तिके रतः ।—*Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LIVE STOCK (*continued*):
ELEPHANTS.

ONE of the four well-known divisions of the old Hindu army was the elephant force, on the efficiency of which depended to a great extent the efficiency of the army as a whole.¹ There has been on record many a battle in early Indian history in which elephants carried the day. Hence the rearing up of a good breed of elephants was recognized as one of the special cares of Chandra Gupta's Government, which made itself famous by the strength of its army organization. The killing of an elephant was visited even with capital punishment, which shows the great care taken for them by the State.

¹ The references in this chapter are to भूमिक्षद्रविधानम्, हस्तधर्मः and हस्तप्रचारः Bk. II.

The department of elephants had several officers. At the head was वर्षाधक, the superintendent of elephants, whose main duties were (1) to see that the elephant forests were well protected, and (2) to superintend the internal arrangements in the elephant stables and the proper training of elephants by experts. The immediate work of the maintenance and upkeep of the elephant preserves was, however, not his look-out. This was left to another officer called नागवनपाल, the superintendent of elephant forests. He had a staff of assistants called नागवनाधक's, the keepers of elephant forests, through whom he had to acquaint himself with the limits as well as the paths leading into and out of the forests—especially those that were mountainous or boggy or contained rivers or lakes. The capture of elephants was also their concern, in which they were helped by a special set of men. These were: (i) इत्तिपक (elephant drivers); (ii) पादपाशिक (those who slip nooses round the legs of elephants); (iii) सैमिक (boundary guards); (iv) पारिकर्मिक (servants for miscellaneous works); (v) बनचरक (foresters); and (vi) अनीकस्थ (elephant trainers).

The need for the presence of elephant trainers (अनीकस्त्र), mentioned last in the above list, was owing to the fact that they alone could readily ascertain those elephants that were fit for capture; for certain classes of elephants were exempted from capture, viz. those that had small tusks like those of female elephants (मूङ),¹ diseased (आधित) or pregnant elephants as well as those that suckled their young (गर्भिष्ठी and वेनुका), and elephants below twenty years of age or without tusks (मकण); young elephants (विक्ष) were as a rule allowed to remain at large, and only a few were captured to train for sports.

The captors, with five or seven female elephants (चक्षिष्वभक्ती) which had been specially taught the devices of capture, roamed about in summer—the season for the capture of elephants—in the forests, and traced the whereabouts of herds of elephants by following the course of their dung and urine (चक्षिसूचुरी-षच्छमगम) and by observing their footmarks (पदा), the spots where they reposed (शथास्थान), and the banks of rivers, lakes, etc., damaged by them (क्लृपातोद्देशेन). The captors passed along the

¹ *Vide* Bhaṭṭasvāmī's Commentary.

lines of भज्जातकी trees (*Semecarpus anacardium*), called *Bhelā* (भेला) in Bengali. One of the reasons for this was perhaps that the trees, being very shady, afforded a good resting-place for the animals, where the herds or clues to their wanderings were most likely to be found. It is also possible that the leaves and branches of the trees formed a favourite food of the animals, for भज्जातक is mentioned as a medicinal plant in the extant works¹ on वस्त्रायुर्वेद and अश्वग्राह alike, the properties of which, according to medical authorities (quoted in *Elephants and their Diseases*, by Lt.-Col. Evans, p. 144), are mainly those of a stimulant, and admit of both internal and external uses.

The exact devices that were employed for catching the elephants are not described in the Arthaśāstra, but an extract from Megasthenes

¹ कृमयो यदि वाले स्युर्जाता भज्जातकैः सह
विपाच्य सार्षपं तैलं छणाणं चपयेद्व्रष्टे ।
—वस्त्रायुर्वेदः, by पाञ्चकाण्यसुनि, p. 208.
मधुकं केशरं पचं भज्जातकविभीतकम्
शङ्खपुष्पं रहा सारं समभागेन नित्रितम्
कासार्षस्य समुद्दिष्टः क्वाथीऽयं चिफलात्मकः
उद्धारवर्द्धकः सद्यस्था कायाघ्रिदीपकः ।
—अश्ववृक्षम्, by नकुल, p. 58; see also p. 54 (*ibid.*).

bearing on this point is worth quoting. It runs as follows :—

"The manner of hunting the elephant is this. Round a bare patch of ground is dug a deep trench about 5 or 6 stadia (a stadium=202½ yds.) in extent, and over this is thrown a very narrow bridge which gives access to the enclosure. Into this enclosure are introduced three or four of the best-trained female elephants. The men themselves lie in ambush in concealed huts. The wild elephants do not approach this trap in the daytime, but they enter it at night, going in one by one. When all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it up; then, introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger. When the latter are overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each man creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his feet together."—Megasthenes, Bk. III, Fragment xxxvi.

The sources of supply of elephants in those days were the following places, viz. : (i) कलिङ्ग, (ii) अज्ञ, (iii) करण¹ (eastern portion of the district of Shahabad in Behar), supplying elephants of the best quality; (iv) प्राच्य (the east), (v) दशार्ण,² (vi) अपराज्ञ³ (western countries, viz. Konkan and Malabar), supplying elephants of medium quality; and (vii) घुराङ्ग (Guzerat),

¹ N. L. Dey's *Geogr. Dict.*

² दशार्ण has been identified with modern Mandasore.

³ *Vide* N. L. Dey's *Geogr. Dict.*

(viii) पञ्चजन,¹ supplying elephants of inferior quality.

STABLES.

There were two sets of stables, one in the fort and the other outside; in the former were kept those elephants that had already been trained for war and riding, and in the latter those that were being tamed, together with the refractory ones.

An elephant stable was twice as high as the length of an elephant, and its width was half its height; it was made to face either the north or the east, had separate apartments for female elephants, had a spacious corridor (गौवा), and was provided with smooth, square, T-shaped tether-posts called कुमारी, which were as long as the length of an elephant, and between which were placed apertures for the removal of excreta. Their place for sleeping was similar to that for standing, with this difference, that in one half of it was a raised platform for the elephant to lean upon.

¹ पञ्चजन probably stands for पञ्चगण, a place in Northern India, which is referred to in the Mahabharata, Sabha Parva, ch. 27, in connexion with the Northern conquests of Arjuna, thus: किरीटी जितवान् राजन् देशान् पञ्चगणस्तः ॥

Stabling staff.

For the stabling of elephants a good number of officers was employed. A list of such officers set forth in the Arthaśāstra mentions the following : (i) चिकित्सक (elephant doctors); (ii) चनीकस्त्र (elephant trainers); (iii) आरोहक (ordinary drivers or *mâhuts*); (iv) आधोरण (expert *mâhuts* able to control the pace and movement of elephants); (v) हस्तिपक (grooms or elephant keepers); (vi) शौपचारिक (attendants); (vii) विषापाचक (cooks); (viii) धारसिक (grass suppliers); (ix) पादपाशिक (those who put fetters round their feet); (x) कुटीरच (guards); (xi) उपशाचिक (those who take care of the elephants at night).

These officers were given wages and allowances of food, and a deduction was made from their dues for negligence in their duties, e.g. allowing a stranger to ride the elephants, striking them in the vital parts of their bodies, not cleansing the stables, etc.

Daily routine.

Their bathing hours were fixed once in the morning between 6 and 7.30 and again in

the afternoon between 3 and 4.30. The two bathing hours were followed by hours for meals. The forenoon was the time for their physical exercise, and afternoon for their training. Two out of the eight parts of the night were spent in sleep (स्वप्न) and three in drowsiness (संवेष्टनीयात्मिक).

Rations.

The quantity of ration to be given to an elephant was regulated generally according to its age, which was inferred from its size and other physical features ; and for this purpose elephants were divided into three groups, viz. :—

(i) those that were 14 feet high, 18 feet long, and 20 feet in girth, and were from these measurements inferred to be of forty years of age ; (ii) those that were thirty years old ; and (iii) those that were twenty-five years old.

The diet for the second group was one-quarter less than that of the first ; and the diet of the third group was one-quarter less than that of the second.

The dietary of the first group comprised the following :—

Quantities.	Modern equivalents.
1 drôga of rice (<i>तण्डुल</i>)	$4\frac{1}{2}$ chataks.
$\frac{1}{2}$ Adhaka of oil (<i>तेल</i>)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ chatak.
3 prasthas of ghee (<i>सर्पिष्य</i>)	$8\frac{2}{3}$ kanchas.
10 palas of salt	$4\frac{1}{2}$ sikis.
50 palas of मांस, i.e. fleshy parts or pulp of fruits	1 chatak 4 sikis.
1 Adhaka of रस (drink) or { 2 Adhakas of curd	$1\frac{1}{2}$ chatak.
10 palas of sugar (<i>चार</i>) for making food palatable	$4\frac{1}{2}$ sikis.
1 Adhaka of liquor (<i>मध्य</i>) or { 2 Adhakas of milk (<i>पद्मः</i>)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ chatak.
2 bhâras of meadow-grass (<i>अबस</i>)	6 seers.
$2\frac{1}{2}$ bhâras of खेत्र (sporting-grass)	$6\frac{1}{4}$ seers.
$\frac{1}{6}$ bhâra of hay	$\frac{1}{6}$ seer.
And any amount of stalks of various sorts of pulse.	

1 prastha of oil ($1\frac{1}{3}$ kancha) and $\frac{1}{3}$ prastha of the same ($\frac{3}{4}$ siki) were given respectively for rubbing the body and the head with, and $\frac{3}{4}$ prastha for a light in each apartment (*प्रादीपिक*).

An elephant of 16 feet in height, and in rut, was given the same amount of food as one of 14 feet, and the rest when in rut were given food according to their size. A young elephant captured for sports (*विक्र*) was fed on milk and meadow-grass.

TRAINING OF ELEPHANTS.

It was one of the most important duties of the superintendent of elephants to see that proper training was given to the animals under his charge by expert trainers. The elephants were divided into the following four classes according to their training :—

(i) दम्भ (those that were being tamed); (ii) साम्राज्य (those trained for war); (iii) उपवास्तु (those trained for riding, etc., in times of peace); (iv) बाल (those that were refractory and difficult to be broken).

The taming of elephants had several clearly marked out stages.

The process began when the animal was brought to attach itself to a herd of tamed elephants, and lost its wildness by contact with them; this was called the यूथगत (juthagata) stage of the training. Then the animal was cleverly thrown into a pit specially dug, to subdue its ferocity; this was the अपपातगत (apapâtagata) stage. The next step in the taming (वारिगत—vârigata) was to keep the animal confined within a particular area of the forest instead of allowing it to roam at large.

The next disciplinary measure was to tie the animal to a post when it was found to be sufficiently gentle for the purpose (**स्तम्भगत**—*stambhagata*). The taming was completed when the elephant became so gentle that it allowed its driver or trainer to sit on its withers without protest ; this was the **स्कन्धगत** (*skandhagata*) stage.

Of the elephants tamed in the above way some were selected for military training and some for purposes of ordinary work.

As regards military training, the preliminary steps adopted were to accustom the elephant to girths (**कच्चाकर्म**) and collars (**पैवेयकर्म**) and to co-operation with a herd in a common work (**यूथकर्म**). Then the animal was taught the following movements necessary for war :—

- (i) उपस्थान (rising, bending, jumping over fences, etc.) ; (ii) संवर्जन (turning) ; (iii) संथान (moving forward straight or transverse, or making serpentine movement) ; (iv) वधावध (killing and trampling down) ; (v) वक्षियुद (fighting with other elephants) ; (vi) नागराघण (assailing forts and cities) ; and (vii) सांपानिक (other cognate movements relating to war).

With regard to the training of elephants in

riding, they were first taken through the preliminary processes of discipline, through शारदकर्म¹, इनकर्म or drudge-work, and नारोद्रकर्म or responsiveness to signs. Then they were trained in the following movements, viz. :—

(i) आचरण (nimble motion); (ii) कुञ्चरौपवाच्च (being mounted from another elephant); (iii) घोरण (trotting); (iv) आधानगतिक (moving with two or three legs); (v) चक्षुपवाच्च (readiness to be driven by means of a stick only); (vi) तोनोपवाच्च (submitting to an iron hook); (vii) शङ्खोपवाच्च (readiness to be driven by mere signs); and (viii) भाग्यशुक (being trained in hunting).

Lastly, there were those elephants that were regarded as the failures of training. Their viciousness generally consisted in aversion to work, obstinacy, perversity, unsteadiness and bad temper. There were three classes of such elephants, viz. : (1) *suddha*, having unmitigated

¹ Bhattasvami has explained शारदकर्म as the process by which elephants unfit for work owing to excessive fatness or leanness, or other defects, were rendered useful. The word शारद also occurs in the चस्त्यायुर्वेद of पालकाप्यमुनि, p. 49, to denote elephants that were weak, naturally, or through some disease or effect of medicines :

प्राक्तः शारदो यस्य सप्तधातुचयास्या
प्रकृत्या व्याधिभिर्भापि दुष्वेलस्त्रीष्वर्धैरपि ।

viciousness ; (2) *suvrata*, clever at mischief; and (3) *vishama*, i.e. having vices of all types. The only way to keep them under control was by punishment and the use of fetters and other means to control their vicious tendencies. For these purposes there were in use bridles (पारायण), leg-chains (परचेप), frontal fetters (जनर), hooks (अङ्कुश), and other mechanical devices.

ORNAMENTS.

Among the ornaments of elephants are mentioned necklaces such as वैजयनी, चुरप्रमाण, as well as housings (आस्तरण) and howdah (कुञ्च) ; and among war accoutrements are mentioned mail-armour (वर्म), clubs (तोमर), quivers of arrows (गराबाप), etc.

MEDICAL TREATMENT.

As in the case of cows and horses, there were doctors employed to apply medicines to elephants suffering from diseases due to over-work, rut or old age. Their chief duties were, however, preventive in their character—taking care that the physical conditions surrounding the life of the elephants conformed strictly to the rules of hygiene and

sanitation (स्थानशुद्धि). Failure to take the necessary steps for the health of elephants was punishable with fines. There was also inspection as regards the proper growth and harmonious development of all the parts of the body of an elephant. This was regulated according to several standards and types of its physical development.

There were also certain rules for the cutting of tusks of elephants. Elephants born in countries irrigated by rivers had speedy growth of tusks, which were cut once in two-and-a-half years; and for mountain elephants, whose tusks grew more slowly, it was done once in five years. The rule was to leave at the root a length equal to twice the circumference of the tusk measured at its base.

CEREMONIES FOR THE WELFARE OF ELEPHANTS.

Ceremonies were observed to propitiate unseen agencies for the welfare of elephants. Thus, आरति or the waving of lights was performed thrice daily in the rainy season and at the periods of conjunction of two seasons. Sacrifices to *Bhūtas* were also performed on

new-moon and full-moon days, as also to सेनानी or Kârtikeya, the god of war.

We have now completed our account of the Department of Live Stock in Chandra Gupta's Government, and have seen the comprehensive character of its scope and work touching the welfare and growth of the useful animals on which depended to a great extent both the economic prosperity and political security of the country.

CHAPTER V.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

§ 1.—LAND ROUTES AND CONVEYANCES.

CONSIDERING the vast extent of the empire of Chandra Gupta, embracing as it did the whole of Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, an area wider even than that of British India, it is evident that the machinery of government by which the administration of this mighty empire was carried on was highly elaborate and developed, the product of evolution through centuries. It implied the existence of all the principal factors on which depends the efficiency of such governments, viz., a well-disciplined army of sufficient strength, a well-organized system of administration, and a well-developed system of communication by which the heart of the empire was brought into constant and vital connexion

with its distant and various parts. We shall have occasion to speak in another place of the organization of Chandra Gupta's army and administration. In the present chapter we shall confine ourselves to an account of the means of communication that existed in Chandra Gupta's time, the network of roads, trade routes and water routes, etc., that, radiating from the centre at Pāṭaliputra towards the four quarters of the empire, covered up the entire territory embraced by it. Among the principal agencies of transport, we shall have to refer to vehicles and conveyances as also to ships and boats which established and carried on the intercourse not only between the different parts of the country along the recognized water routes, but also the intercourse of the empire with the outside world across the seas.

As already pointed out, the trade routes led towards all the four quarters of the empire—north, south, east and west, as is apparent from the passages quoted below. The number of routes in each direction seems to have been determined by consideration of traffic. From this standpoint Kauṭilya regards the routes leading to the south as more important than

those leading to the Himâlayas ; for while the latter brought to market the supply of blankets, skins and horses, the former facilitated the supply of such valuable commodities as diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, gold and conch-shells, of which Southern India was the noted home for ages. On the same considerations it is also stated that of the southern trade routes the more important were those that passed by a larger number of mines, carried a larger volume of traffic in merchandise of various kinds, and were hence used by a larger number of men. There were also other routes leading to the east and to the west, the importance of which was also determined as above.¹

One of these routes was undoubtedly what has been mentioned in Megasthenes as the “Royal Road”² connecting Pâtaliputra with

¹ स्खलपथेऽपि—“हैमवतो दक्षिणापथाच्छ्रेयान् हस्तयन्त्र-गन्ध-दन्ता-जिन-रुप्य-सुवर्ण-पण्डास्त्वारवत्तराः” —(इत्याचार्योः)।

नेति कौठिल्यः—“कम्बलाजिनाभ्यपण्डवजीः ग्रह्यन्यक्षमणि-सुक्ताम् सुवर्णपण्डास्त्व प्रभूततरा दक्षिणापथे । दक्षिणापथेऽपि वज्ञ-खनिस्त्वारपण्डः प्रसिद्धगतिरुप्य-चायामो वा वणिकपथः श्रेयान् । प्रभूतविषयो वा फलापण्डः । तेन पूर्वः पश्चिमस्त्व वणिकपथो चायामः ।”—Bk. VII, कर्त्त्वसन्धिः, p. 298.

² Megasthenes, Bk. IV, Fragment lvi.

the Indus valley, and enabling the power of Chandra Gupta to be felt even in the regions of the North-Western frontiers which had been newly wrested from the hands of Seleucus Nikator.

But roads and trade routes¹ had a political importance besides an economic. To have control over them meant over-reaching the enemy. They were the means of transport of troops, messengers, envoys, as well as weapons, armour, chariots, pack-animals, etc.

Roads and trade routes were of various kinds, with various designations. They were classified (1) according as they were used by beasts of burden, men on foot or in conveyances, and (2) according to the destinations they led to. Thus, the राजमार्ग² (4 dandas or 32 feet wide) was the king's highway. It owed its

¹ वर्णिक् पथः परातिसम्भानस्य थोनिः ; वर्णिक् पथेन चि दण्ड-गुडपुरषपतिमयनं शस्त्रावरण्यथानवाहनक्रयस्य क्रियते । प्रदेशो निर्णयनं च ।—Bk. VII, छीनशक्तिपूरणम्, p. 305; सधतिविहित आनवाहनपुरषपरिवापः प्रतिष्ठेत, etc.—Bk. I, दूतप्रणिधिः, p. 30.

² निर्धारेऽभियाने च राजमार्गमुभयतः ब्रह्मारक्षं दण्डिभिरपास्त-शस्त्रहस्तप्रवजितव्यज्ञं गच्छेत् । न पुरुषसम्भाधमवगाहेत ।—Bk. I, आद्यरचितकम्, p. 45; चतुः प्राचीना राजमार्गाक्षय उद्दीचीना इति वासुविभागः ।—Bk. II, दुर्गनिवेशः, p. 54.

name evidently to the fact that the king used it on solemn occasions, when it was cleared of crowds and guarded by soldiers with drawn swords. There used to be six such roads in a city, three running north and south and three east and west. रथा was the broad road, 4 daṇḍas or 32 feet wide, along which chariots could run with ease. There is also mention of a रथपथ, apparently for smaller chariots, as it was only 5 aratnis or 10 feet wide. The पश्चपथ, having a width of 4 aratnis or 8 feet, was the road for cattle in general, while there were the सहापश्चपथ for the larger animals, and the चुप्रपश्चपथ for the smaller ones, having a width of 2 aratnis or 4 feet.¹ There were routes called खरोङ्गपथ (*lit.*, for asses and camels). They were so made that they could be used whatever the season or the nature of the soil through which they passed. Besides the aforesaid roads, there was also distinguished a चक्रपथ (cart-track) which admitted of a larger volume of traffic than the पादपथ, and the मनुष्यपथ

¹ It should be noted that these roads took their names from the principal uses for which they were meant. It must not be thought that a road for the purpose which its name implies was not put to any other use for which it was fit.

(2 aratnis or 4 feet wide) meant for pedestrians only. The अंसपथ was a narrow road of the latter class.¹ Of these roads and routes some have been singled out in the Arthaśāstra as trade routes proper (वाणिकपथ). These are the चक्रपथ, पादपथ, अंसपथ and खरोङ्गपथ. The reason of this distinction seems to be that the trade routes were usually of very great length and passed through a variety of soils and climes.

As has been already mentioned, there was also a class of roads that were designated according to their destinations. The राष्ट्रपथ (4 daṇḍas or 32 feet wide) was the road leading to the districts. The road leading to pastures was known as विवीतपथ, and was of the same breadth. The approaches to the forts in the centre of 400 and 800 villages were known respectively as द्रोणसुखपथ and स्थानीयपथ, and were of equal breadth with the preceding.² The स्थोनीयपथ led to the fields

¹ दुर्गेनिवेशः—Bk. II; विवीतचेचपथहिंसा—Bk. III; and कर्मसुभि—Bk. VII; सत्रापि चक्रपादपथयोऽचक्रपथो विपुलारम्भाच्छेषान् देशकालसभावनो वा खरोङ्गपथः आभ्याम् अंसपथो व्याख्यातः—Bk. VII, कर्मसुभिः।

² अष्टशतयाम्यामधे स्थानीयं, चतुश्शतयाम्या द्रोणसुखं, द्विशतयाम्या खार्वटिकं, दशप्रामीसंयहेण सङ्कुच्यन्तं स्थापयेत्।

—Bk. II, जनपदनिवेशः।

under cultivation (योनि=seed or grain). The road leading to a military station was called the यूहपथ. The आशानपथ, as the name indicates, led to the cremation-grounds, while the आमपथ was a thoroughfare which led to and through a village. The above four classes of roads were all 8 dandas or 64 feet wide. The paths to forests were known as वनपथ (4 dandas or 32 feet wide), and those leading to elephant forests were called इक्षिचेनपथ (2 dandas or 16 feet wide). The roads leading to or passing over elevated and difficult places like embankments were designated as चित्रपथ (4 dandas or 32 feet wide).¹

Besides the above classes, there are mentioned a few other roads peculiar to forts² :—

(i) रथचर्यासार, *i.e.* roads for chariots, paved with planks cut from the trunks of palms, or with broad and thick slabs of stones. (ii) प्रतोली, which was a broad passage between two towers (चट्टालक). (iii) देवपथ, which was the passage leading to a temple. (iv) Paths which were as broad as a danda (8 feet) or two and were called चार्या.

¹ दुर्गनिवेशः—Bk. II.

² दुर्गविधानम्—Bk. II.

Among other minor roads may be mentioned the खन्न, a defile or small path admitting passage for a single man.¹ उपाध्व is a small passage through fields,² etc., and विशिष्टा³ a road in the city on which the workshop for the State goldsmith was built.

The free flow of traffic along the established roads and trade routes was naturally one of the cares of the State, and all interference with it was punishable. Suitable fines were imposed for blocking passage, which varied with the importance of the roads.⁴ The fines for blocking or digging some of the roads mentioned above are thus laid down in the Arthashastra : for चुद्रपश्चपथ and मनुष्यपथ, 12 panas ; for भृत्यपश्चपथ, 24 panas ; for चक्षित्तेचपथ, 54 panas ; for सेतुपथ and वनपथ, 600 panas ; for अशानपथ and यामपथ, 200 panas ; for दोषसुखपथ, 500 panas ; for खानीयपथ, राष्ट्रपथ and विवीतपथ, 1000 panas ; for digging the roads too deep, four times the above fines were inflicted.

We now proceed to give an account of the

¹ ग्रस्तान्तिरसप्रविष्टध्यः, वीवधासारप्रसारवध्य—Bk. XII, p. 388.

² वास्तुविक्रयः—Bk. III, p. 169.

³ अच्छशालायां सुवर्णाध्यक्षः—Bk. II, p. 85.

⁴ विवीतचेचपथहिंसा—Bk. III, p. 171.

various types of vehicles, conveyances and other means of land carriage which were then in use. First come *chariots*, the construction of which was placed under the supervision of the superintendent of chariots (रथाध्यक्ष), who had to see that the chariots built corresponded with the various sizes and types in vogue; for there are mentioned no less than seven different sizes of chariots with a normal height of 10 purushas, *i.e.* 10 feet, but with a width ranging from 6 to 12 feet. There are also mentioned six varieties of chariots for different purposes. Thus the देवरथ was the chariot for the idols, the उत्तरथ was the festal chariot, the संग्रामिक war-chariot, the पारिधानिक that used ordinarily for travelling. There was another class of war-chariots called the परपुराभियानिक for use in expeditions. Lastly, there was the वैनविक or the chariot used in the period of training.¹

Among *minor vehicles*² we have the लघुयानम्, a small cart; the गोलिङ्गम्, a cart of medium size drawn by bulls; and the शकट or big cart.

¹ रथाध्यक्षः—Bk. II.

² चुइपश्चर्मनुष्यस्य सभारो माषकं दद्यात्; पञ्च लघुयानम्, षड्-गोलिङ्गम्, सप्त शकटम्—Bk. II, नावध्यक्षः, p. 127.

The carts were in very general use, and a brisk trade in them was carried on to meet the demand.¹

The chariots, carts² and other vehicles were usually drawn by camels, bulls or horses. The cart-driver was called चक्रचर.³

Lastly, the शिविका⁴ or palanquin was also a means of conveyance, पीडिका being another variety of the same.

As regards the king's conveyance, great precautions were taken to ensure his personal safety when he rode a horse, etc., or was carried in a chariot or other vehicle. Hereditary grooms and drivers were generally appointed, and stringent punishments meted out to those who stole or caused hurt to royal

¹ धान्यरसलोहपण्याः शकटवद्वहारिणस्य चिंशत्कराः—Bk. V, कोशाभिसंचरणम्, p. 241.

² गवाच्च-रथोङ्गाणां च वज्राः—Bk. VII, शीनशक्तिपूरणम्। युग्मवाहनशकटवद्वा दृष्टभाः—Bk. II, गोध्यज्ञः। कुर्याङ्गवाच्चव्यायोगं रथेष्वस्पदयो नृपः—Bk. X, युद्धभूमयः, पत्यवरथवृक्षिकर्मणि च, p. 869.

³ चक्रचराणा वा शकट-वाटे-रपगच्छेत्—Bk. VII, सञ्चिकर्म, सञ्चिमोक्षस्य, p. 815.

⁴ इच्छभृङ्गारथजानशिविकापीडिकारथेषु च विशेषार्थम्—Bk. II, गणिकाऽध्यज्ञः, p. 128.

horses and elephants, and damage to royal carriages.¹

There were rules for the driving of vehicles to ensure the security of the passers-by. I need not, however, enter into these details.² Cart-stealing was severely punished.³ Special care was taken for repairing the roads, and favour was shown to the labourers by exempting them from taxes.

I conclude this account of land routes and conveyances by a reference to the facilities for travelling that were offered by the State. The supply of water and shade was one of the concerns of Government. Trees were planted along the roads, and water-storages were set up, ministering to the comfort of passers-by. There was also provision made by hotel-

¹ मौलपुराधिष्ठितं यानवाहनमारोहेत्—Bk. I, आत्मरक्षित-कम्; (पथि) राजहस्यभरथार्ना हिंसकान् सेनान्वा प्रदक्षानारो-हृषयुः—Bk. IV, शुद्धिचित्त दण्डकस्यः, p. 227.

² *Vide* Bk. IV, अतिचारदण्डः।

³ चक्रशुत्तं नावं लुद्रपश्चं व्यापहरत एकपादवधः चित्तो वा दण्डः—Bk. IV, एकाङ्गवधनिक्यः, p. 225.

⁴ शीघ्रयेत् पश्चुपञ्चैष चीयमानं वणिकपदं—Bk. II, जनपद-निवेशः, p. 49; भधमवरं वा दुर्गेतुकमैवणिकपदपश्चन्यनिवेश-खनिद्रव्यहस्तिवनकर्मोपकारिणं प्रत्यन्नमस्पप्रसाणं वा न याचेत्—Bk. V, कोशाभिसंहरणम्, p. 240.

keepers for the supply of food and resting-place to travellers.¹ These facilities anticipated those of Asoka as set forth in his Rock Edict II.

§ 2.—WATERWAYS AND SHIPS AND BOATS.

From the above it appears that the vast territories over which Chandra Gupta held sway were interconnected by a system of communications, which was one of the chief means of welding them together into one mighty empire governed from its centre at Pāṭaliputra. The means of communication thus established had, as I have already said, not merely a political significance; they helped to create and carry a large volume of inland trade which was equally instrumental in uniting the different parts of the empire in ties of common material interests.

The system of communications, however,

¹ तु स्यामौलुपुंश्चलीप्राप्यविक-कायावकाशभोजनदात्रमिः अप-
सर्पयेत्—Bk. IV, वाक्यकर्मानुयोगः, p. 219.

सहोदकं आहार्योदकं वा सेतुं बन्धयेत्। अन्येषां वा बधता
भूमिमार्ग-दृश्योपकरणानुग्रहं कुर्यात् पुष्पस्थानारामाणां च समूय
सेतुबन्धादप्रकामतः कर्मकरवल्लीवर्द्धाः कर्मकुर्याः—Bk. II, जन-
पदनिवेशः, p. 47; पुष्पफलवाटषष्ठकेदारमूलवापास्तुः—Bk. II,
समाहत्यसुद्यप्रस्थापनम्, p. 60.

could not be complete without the means of water-carriage, which in India, pre-eminently the land of rivers, were imperatively necessary. That these were fairly developed is quite evident from the Arthashastra ; in fact, all matters relating to navigation, whether inland or oceanic, were dealt with by a separate admiralty department managed by various officers.

There were several classes of water routes : first, the ordinary river routes and the artificial waterways or canals (कृत्या) which were greatly resorted to by traders on account of the undoubted cheapness of water-carriage. Kauṭilya, however, shows his preference¹ for land routes over water routes on account of the lesser risks involved in the former. Secondly, there were the routes for coastal traffic (कूलपथ)

¹ एतेन विणिक् पथोव्याच्यातः । तचापि—“ वारिस्खलपथयोर्बारिपथः त्रेयान् अस्तपद्यव्याधामः प्रभतपणोदयस्त् ” इत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः—“ संरद्गगतिरसार्वकालिकः प्रष्टाष्टभयथानिनिष्ठतिकारस्त् वारिपथः ; विपरीतस्खलपथः । वारिपथे तु कूलसंयानपथयोः कूलपथः पणपद्गवाङ्गस्याच्छ्रेयाङ्गदीपथो वा सात्याद्विषद्वावाधत्वाच्च ” ।—Bk. VII, कर्मसन्धिः, p. 298.

कौटिल्यः—“ वारिस्खलपथमोगयोरनित्यो वारिपथमोगो, नित्यस्खलपथमोग इति ” ।—Bk. VII, अनवसितसन्धिः, p. 294.

carrying on inter-portal communication. These were naturally more exposed to dangers than either the river routes or the land routes. Lastly, there were ocean routes (**संचानपथ**) carrying on the intercourse of India with foreign countries across the sea. The existence of definite ocean routes, clearly marked out, no doubt implies a high degree of development of the art of navigation.

The natural risks of water-carriage were, however, overcome by the efficiency of the means of transport that were in use. Ships and boats were built of various descriptions suiting the purposes of both inland and marine navigation. In the Arthashastra mention is made of the following kinds of ships and boats :—

(i) **संचात्यः नावः**, i.e. ocean-going vessels. These ships had to pay tolls (**शुल्क**) at the harbours (**चेत्र**) at which they touched.¹ Amarakosha defines a **संचात्चिक** as a merchantman (**पोतवर्षिक**).

(ii) **प्रवहणः**: This is another name for sea-going vessels, or more properly merchantmen, for it is thus defined in the commentary on

¹ **संचातीर्नावः चेत्रानुगताः शुल्कं याचेत् ।**

—Bk. II, **नावधेचः**, p. 126.

उत्तराध्यनसूचीका, p. 246 : चामुङ्किका: वापारिषः महासुश्रुं प्रवचणैस्तरनि, i.e. "sea-going merchants cross the main in प्रवचण."¹

(iii) शङ्खमुक्तापाहिषः नावः These were the boats used for pearl-fishing in various parts of the ocean. They were generally the property of Government, but were also let out to private individuals on payment of the necessary fee (नौदाटक). But pearl-fishers were also allowed to carry on their business in their own boats (खनावः).²

(iv) महानावः These were big vessels for use in those large rivers (महानदीषु) which could not be forded even in the dry seasons and were navigable throughout the year.³

(v) The royal barge was another type of boat, manned by trustworthy sailors (आप्नाविकाविष्टिः नौः). It had to be tagged on to another boat, evidently for the safety of the king. The king never used a vessel that had

¹ प्रवचणनिमित्तसे कोऽमात्यः सर्वानन्मात्यानावाहयेत् ।

—Bk. I, उपधामि-शैचाशैचशानन्मात्यानाम्, p. 17.

² शङ्खमुक्तापाहिषो नौदाटकान् दद्यु, खनौभिर्वा तरेयुः ।

—(नावधक्षः) ।

³ महानावो हेमनग्नीशात्यात्यात्यु महानदीषु प्रयोजयेत् । —Ibid.

once been weather-beaten, and, as a further precautionary measure, soldiers were stationed on the bank or shore when he boarded a vessel.¹

(vi) चुड़काः नावः These were small boats specially meant for use in small and shallow rivers (चुड्रिकासु) that overflowed in the rains.²

(vii) सतरणानि Besides the Government ferry-boats, there were also ferry-boats belonging to private persons. These were allowed to cross the rivers at all times and places.³

(viii) हिंसिकाः These were the pirate ships and boats. The admiralty regulation was that they should be pursued and destroyed whenever they were found. The same regulation applied to the ships and boats of an enemy's country when they crossed its limits (अभिच्छिष्यातिगः) and also to vessels violating harbour rules (पश्चपतनचारित्रोपघातिकाः).⁴

¹ नावं आप्नाविकाधिष्ठितामन्यनीप्रतिबद्धा (आरोहेत्) ; बातवेगवश्च च नोपेयात् । उद्काने सैन्यमासीत् ।

—Bk. I, आत्मरच्छितकम्, p. 44.

² चुड़काः (नावः) चुड्रिकासु वर्षावाविषीषु ।—(नावधक्षः) ।

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ हिंसिका निर्धातयेत् । अभिच्छिष्यातिगः पश्चपतनचारित्रोपघातिकाश्च—(नावधक्षः) ।

A reference has now to be made to the crew for manning ships and boats. The captain of a ship was called the शासक, and the steersman the नियामक. There were also the sailors, with sickles and ropes, known as दाचरम्भाहकाः. Lastly, there was a staff of sailors whose duty it was to bale out water (जन्मसे चकाः).¹

Besides the regular ships and boats, there were devised various other means of water-carriage. These were (*a*) काष्ठसङ्घात—pieces of timber tied together, serving the purposes of a boat; (*b*) वेणुसङ्घात—a boat made of bamboos tied together; (*c*) अस्त्रावु—a vessel made of the bottle-gourd; (*d*) चर्मकरण—a basket covered with skin; (*e*) इच्छि—a leather bag that could be floated and used as a boat; (*f*) जप्त—canoe; (*g*) गण्डिका—a floating device made of the leather of the rhinoceros; (*h*) वेणिका—a float of reeds, etc., woven together.²

Other means² of crossing water were the bridges of various kinds. Besides the ordinary

¹ *Vide* नावध्यकाः. Cf. the list of crew as given by अभरकोपः—“कर्णधारसङ्घातविकः नियामकाः पोतबाह्याः।”

² इस्तिस्थापनसङ्घातसे तु बन्धनौ काष्ठवेणुसङ्घातैः अस्त्रावु चर्मकरणहिन्दवगण्डिकावेणिकाभिस्त्रोदकानि तारथेत्—Bk. X, स्त्रभा-

bridges (चेतुबन्ध) there were also the bridges of boats as well as the bridges formed by elephants standing in a row.

In the chapter नावधनः there are a few rules relating to the duties of the नावधन (the superintendent of the admiralty department), of the खनधन (the superintendent of ocean-mines) and of the पत्तनाधन (the superintendent of ports). There are also mentioned the regulations as to the collection of taxes and ferry charges (तरदेय), repair of ships and boats, time and place for crossing rivers, entrance of foreign merchants into the country, arrest of suspected persons, and concessions made to some classes of persons as regards crossing and ferry fees, e.g. children, old men, etc.

वारप्रथाएतम्, p. 368; वर्षाराचमनूपप्रामा: पूरवेल्लासुत्ख्य वसेयुः । काष्ठवेणुनावस्थापटहीयुः—Bk. IV, उपनिपातप्रतीकारः, p. 206.

उच्चमानमस्तावुद्भिज्ञवगण्डिकावेशिकाभिस्तारयेयुः । अनभिस-
रता द्वादशप्रणो दद्धः, अन्यत्र स्वत्त्वीनेभ्यः—Bk. IV, उपनि-
पातप्रतीकारः, p. 206.

नदीहुर्गे हि उक्तिस्तम्भसञ्चमसे तु बन्धनौ भिस्ताधमनित्यगाढीर्थ-
मपर्वाण्युदकं च—Bk. VII, भूमिसम्भिः, p. 292.

शिविरमार्गसे तु कूपतीर्थीष्ठो धनकर्मयन्त्रायुधावरणोपकरणप्राप्त-
वहनमायोधनाच प्रहरणावरणप्रतिविद्वापनयनमिति विष्टि-
कर्मणि—Bk. X, पत्यश्वरथहस्तिकर्मणिच, p. 369.

Besides these, there were a few other rules regarding deposits in ships, the rate of interest for money lent or borrowed by sea traders (सामुद्राः) and the punishment for stealing boats.¹

It is apparent from the above that intercourse was established in that ancient time between the empire of Chandra Gupta and very distant places. That foreign merchants used to come to his empire and that commerce was carried on with distant countries are evident from references made to them in several passages under the names of पारविश्विकाः², सामुद्राः,³ सार्थयानयाचानि,⁴ and also by the use of such expressions as “देशकालान्तरितानां तु पश्यान्ति,”⁵

¹ नाविनिमध्याधां सुचितायां स्थमुपरूढो नोपनिधिमध्याभवेत्—Bk. III, औपनिधिकम्, p. 177; विश्वतिपणा सामुद्राणां। ततः परं कर्तुः कारयितुच पूर्वस्माहसदणः—Bk. III, व्याधानम्, p. 174; नाविकसार्थवाहेभ्यच परिचारमायतिक्षमं दद्यात्। अनभियोगस्वार्थेष्वागन्तुनामन्यत्र सभ्योपकारिभ्यः—Bk. II, पश्याध्यक्षः, p. 98.

चक्रयुक्तं नावं चुद्रपश्चुं वाऽपहरत ऐकपादवधः चिन्तो वा दण्डः—Bk. IV, एकाङ्गवधनिष्ठयः, p. 225.

² Vide नावध्यक्षः।

³ Bk. III, व्याधानम्।

⁴ Bk. I, अवद्वद्वत्तमवस्थे च इति:।

⁵ Bk. IV, वैदेशक-रक्षणम्; see also पश्याध्यक्षः—Bk. II; कर्मसन्धिः—Bk. VII, etc.

etc. Lastly, in the chapter entitled कोश्प्रवेश-रत्नपरीचा in Book II, among other things it is mentioned that कालेचक, a kind of sandal, came from खर्षभूमि, i.e. Burma; चीनभूमिजाः चीनपट्टाः, fabrics of Chinese manufacture, came from that distant country; and gems of various kinds, as well as अग्र (the fragrant Aloe-wood) of several sorts, came from Ceylon (पारस्सुद्र).¹ There are mentioned many other names of distant countries the products of which were brought into the empire by the means of intercourse that were established, but those already quoted are sufficient for our purpose.

¹ Mr. N. L. Dey has very rightly restored the word *Pulæsimundu* of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* to its proper form as *Pārasamudra* (पारस्सुद्र) in the second edition of his *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaval India*, the manuscript of which he has kindly allowed me to consult. His restoration of the word is confirmed by Bhatṭasvāmī's Commentary, which says that the fragrant Aloe-wood, called Pārasāmudraka after the place where it grows, is obtained in Sīghala (Ceylon).

CHAPTER VI.

MINOR WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY.

IN the previous chapters has been described the field of activity covered by some of the major works of public utility. In the present, an account will be given of some of the minor measures that were adopted, and the institutions that were established, for the promotion of the welfare of the people in certain special directions. These, roughly speaking, were connected with the relief and alleviation of sickness, poverty and distress, as well as with the patronage and encouragement of merit.

MEDICAL AIDS, SANITATION, ETC.

It is well known that in ancient India, as far back as the age of Buddha, much progress was made in medicine and surgery, which were fast being applied to the relief of human

suffering. "According to the Indian tradition preserved in the Buddhist Jâtakas or Folklore, there existed in India in the age of Buddha two great universities or seats of learning, in which '*all sciences*,' *including medicine*, were taught by 'professors of world-wide renown.' These two universities were Kâshî or Benares in the east, and the still more famous Takshashilâ or Taxila (on the Jhelam river) in the west. In the latter university in the time of Buddha or shortly before it, the leading professor of medicine was Âtreya. He, accordingly, should have flourished at some time in the sixth century B.C. As one of the names of Suśruta's teacher is Kâśirâja, which literally means King of Kâshî, he may not unreasonably have referred to the University of Kâshî or Benares."¹ Jîvaka, the famous physician who was contemporaneous with Buddha, is stated to have studied medicine in the Taxila university under Âtreya.² The Vinaya Piṭakas also give us some information on this point.³ "Rules for preparing various kinds of medica-

¹ Hoernle's *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, pp. 7, 8.

² Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 65.

³ Vinaya Piṭakas: Mahâvagga VI, 1-15 and 17-21.

ments, as well as medical and surgical operations," says Prof. Kern, "are prescribed in the Vinaya, so that we get some notion of the condition of medical science in the period when that part of the canon was composed."¹ From these evidences, which are sufficient for the present purpose, we get an idea of the state of Indian medical science as far back as the time of Buddha, or even before it, and the advancement it attained in medicine and surgery. The degree of progress achieved in Chandra Gupta's time will be evident from the measures adopted by his Government to secure the health of his people. We learn from Megasthenes² that of the six bodies that were in charge of the city, one had "to attend to the entertainment of foreigners. . . . *They took care of them when they were sick, and if they died buried them.*" Thus the care and treatment of the sick foreigners formed one of the duties of Government. This shows that physicians, with medicines and appliances, had to be kept in readiness to meet the emergencies. Arrian, moreover, refers to an

¹ Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 85.

² Megasthenes, Bk. III, Fragment xxxiv.

interesting incident which reflects no small credit on the Indian physicians of the day. Alexander had in his train several proficient Greek physicians, but they confessed their inability to deal with the cases of snake-bite very common in the Punjab. Alexander was obliged to consult the Indian *Vaidyas*, who successfully treated these cases. The Macedonian king was so struck with their skill that, according to Nearchos, he employed some good *Vaidyas*, and ordered his followers to consult them in cases of snake-bite and other dangerous ailments.

That there were hospitals with store-rooms (मिष्टान्गार) containing medicines in such large quantities as could not be exhausted by years of use, is evident from the passages in the *Arthashastra* quoted below.¹ To the old store fresh supplies were constantly added.

In the *Arthashastra* there are references to four classes of medical experts, viz. भिषजः or चिकित्सकः, i.e. ordinary physicians; आत्राशीचिदः,

¹ उत्तरपश्चिमं भागं पण्डितव्यगटहम् ।—Bk. II, दुर्गनिवेशः, p. 55; सर्पखेचधान्यज्ञारसावणभैषज्य . . . विचयान् अनेकवर्षो-पभोगसज्जान् कारयेत् । नवेनानवं शोधयेत्—*Ibid.*, p. 56. See also p. 44, Bk. I, आत्मरक्षितकम् ।

i.e. those who could readily detect poison ; गर्भवादिसंस्काः or सूतिकाचिकित्सकाः, i.e. midwives ; and army surgeons and nurses.¹

The army surgeons with surgical instruments (शस्त्र) and appliances (यन्त्र), remedial oils (अग्नदखेष्ट) and bandages (बळ), and nurses with appropriate food and beverage, accompanied the army, and encouraged the soldiers.² For the treatment of the diseases of animals, there were the veterinary surgeons referred to in the previous chapters on the subject of live stock.

Several steps were taken for the plantation and growth of medicinal plants and herbs. Portions of fields cultivated directly under Government supervision were set apart and used for this purpose. These herbs were also grown in pots.³

Again, in the royal households, all kinds of

¹ भिषजः and जाह्नवीचिदः—Bk. I, आत्मरचितकम्, p. 48 ; गर्भवादिसंस्काः—Bk. I, निशाकप्रणिधिः, p. 41 ; सूतिकाचिकित्सकाः—Bk. II, नागरकप्रणिधिः, p. 146.

² चिकित्सकाः शस्त्रयन्त्रागदखेष्टवस्त्रहस्ताः स्त्रियसाद्रपावरचित्य-पुरुषाणामुद्दर्शयीया उष्ट्रतस्तिष्ठेयुः ।—Bk. X, कृठयुद्धविक्रमाः, etc., p. 867.

³ Bk. II, चीताऽध्यक्षः, p. 117.

medicines useful in midwifery were kept, and the well-known medicinal herbs were grown in pots. Specified plants were also planted in the compounds of houses to ward off snakes. Cats, peacocks, mungooses and spotted deer were also kept there for the purpose. The shriek of birds such as mainâ, parrot, etc., which cry out in the vicinity of snake poison, was utilized. The following birds were also kept for their sensitiveness to poison, viz., the heron that swooned, the cuckoo that fell dead, and the partridge that reddened the eyes at the smell of poison.¹

The State controlled and regulated medical practice in the land.² Laws were enacted to ensure that medical practitioners exercised due caution in treatment of patients. Every case of dangerous disease had to be reported to Government, failing which, the physician was fined. There was a penalty attaching to a proved case of carelessness on the part of a physician causing the death of a patient, while the aggravation of disease owing to his negligence was treated very much like a case of

¹ Bk. I, निशान्तप्रणिधिः ।

² Bk. IV, कारुकरचणम् ।

assault or violence.¹ Thus the physicians were cautioned against "gathering experience" at the cost of the lives of hundreds of patients.

Measures were also taken for prevention of diseases. Thus, adulteration of all kinds was punished, e.g. adulteration of grains, oils, alkalies, salts, scents and medicines.² The health of the people in cities or crowded places was secured by sanitary measures. Throwing dirt, or causing mire or water to collect in roads and highways was punishable. Committing nuisance near temples, royal buildings and places of pilgrimage, or in reservoirs of water, was penalized, but exceptions were made when this was due to disease or effect of medicine. Throwing inside the city the carcases of animals, or human corpses, was also visited with fines. Carrying dead bodies through gates or along paths not meant for the purpose, as well as the interring or cremation

¹ Cf. S. B. E., Vishṇu, v, 175-177; Yājñavalkya, II, 242; and Manu, IX, 284—"All physicians who treat their patients wrongly shall pay a fine: in the case of animals, the first or lowest, and in the case of human beings the middlemost amercement." Nārada adds: "But this refers to cases when death is not the result of the wrong treatment; for if that is the case, the punishment is greater."

² Bk. IV, वैदेहकरचष्म ।

of dead bodies beyond the limits of the prescribed burial-places and crematories, was also a violation of the sanitary regulations.¹

Remedial measures, medical as well as religious, were adopted to ward off pestilences. In times of epidemic, physicians had to be busy distributing medicines, and ascetics and priests with their auspicious and purificatory ceremonials.²

The precautions taken for the health of the king were as follows:—Medical experts were appointed to detect poison. The medicines that were served out to the king were in the first instance proved as to their purity and then tasted by the physician, the decoctioner (पाचक) and the purveyor together.³

Post-mortem examination (आश्मृतकपरीचा).—It is noteworthy that there was arrangement in those days for post-mortem examination.⁴ For this purpose the corpse was smeared with oil to prevent putrefaction. All cases of violent death caused, for instance, by suffoca-

¹ Bk. II, नागरकप्रणिधि: ।

² Bk. IV, उपनियातप्रतीकारः ।

³ Bk. I, आद्वरचितकम् ।

⁴ Bk. IV, आश्मृतकपरीचा ।

tion, hanging, drowning, etc., or by poisoning, were at once brought to the morgue, and the medical officers in charge had to find out as far as possible the exact cause of death from an examination of the symptoms, several of which are enumerated in the *Arthaśāstra*. The whole affair was subjected to a careful scrutiny, and if foul play was suspected, evidence was taken and the matter left to be disposed of in the law court.

Before we leave this subject it should be noted that the University of Takshasilā, where Pāṇini and Jīvaka were taught, must have continued to exist in its pristine glory at the time of Chandra Gupta, teaching the medical science which was included in its curriculum as before. Arrian describes Takshasilā as "a large and wealthy city and the most populous between the Indus and the Hydaspes." Pliny and Strabo also testify to its vast dimension and populousness. Its high repute as a wealthy city continued for many years after Alexander's invasion,¹ and its importance may be deduced from the fact that it continued to be the

¹ Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Report*, vol. ii, pp. 112, 118.

capital of the Punjab and residence of the viceroys under the early Maurya kings. Asoka lived here as viceroy during the lifetime of his father. These circumstances, as also the fact that we do not hear of any other university in Western India at the time of Chandra Gupta, confirm the aforesaid view. Though it is not distinctly stated in the *Atthakathâ*, as quoted by Turnour in his *Mahâwanso*,¹ that Kauṭilya, the minister of Chandra Gupta, was taught in the University of Takshaśilâ, yet, considering that he was an inhabitant of that town and that he achieved the knowledge of the three *Vedas*, could rehearse the *Mantras* and wrote several treatises on diverse subjects, we cannot resist the inference that he must have availed himself of the advantages which the university of his own town, so famous for its teaching in all the branches of learning, could afford.

INSURANCE AGAINST FAMINE, FLOOD AND FIRE.

We shall now turn to the measures taken for protecting the people against the ravages of famine, flood, fire, etc.

¹ Introduction, p. xxxix.

As a general preventive against famine and other such calamities, it was laid down that in the Government store-house only half of the garnered articles should be used and the other half reserved.¹

The king had also special duties to perform towards his people during famine. In the first place, he had to provide them with seeds to secure a good harvest in future. When the famine had already overtaken the people, he started relief work (i) by दुर्गतकर्म, i.e. works given to the famine-stricken for wage-earning, (ii) by free distribution of alms from the store-house referred to above, (iii) by the abandonment of his country to some other king (देशनिचेप), (iv) by taking help from allies, (v) by making the rich contribute to the famine fund, (vi) by temporary emigration with his subjects to a different kingdom with abundance of crops, (vii) by emigrating to the sea-shores or to the banks of rivers or lakes where he founded a new settlement and employed his subjects in growing grains, vegetables, etc., as

¹ Bk. II, कोषागाराध्यक्षः।

well as in hunting and fishing on a large scale.¹

As a precautionary measure against floods during the rainy season, the people were made to remove from the banks of rivers, etc., in due time. Those who possessed or could procure canoes and other means of safety and escape were enjoined, under the penalty of fines, to give every possible help to persons falling victims to floods in spite of all precautions. Coupled with the above means was the performance of religious and other ceremonials to propitiate the spirits and the gods.²

Measures for the extermination of pests were also taken by Government. These "pests" generally included rats, locusts, injurious birds and insects, and tigers. To destroy rats, cats and mungooses were let loose; some varieties of poison were also used for the purpose. To kill tigers, several kinds of

¹ दुर्भिक्षे राजा वीजभक्तोपगटहं छलाऽनुप्रहं कुर्यात् । दुर्गत-
कर्म वा भक्तानुप्रहेण भक्तसंविभागं वा देशनिक्षेपं वा । मित्राणि
वा अपाश्रयेत् । कर्शनं वमनं वा कुर्यात् । निष्पद्धसस्यमन्यविषयं
वा सजानपदो यायात् । समुद्रसरस्टाकानि वा संश्रयेत् । घाण्य-
शाकमूलफलावापान् सेतुषु कुर्वीत । मृगपशुब्यालमत्यारक्षान्
वा ।—Bk. IV., उपनिषातप्रतीकारः, p. 207.

² Bk. IV., उपनिषातप्रतीकारः ।

poison were in use; sometimes hunters were employed, and several methods of entrapping were also resorted to.¹

There were various regulations to protect person and property from fire. The danger from fire seems to have been very common, considering the material of which the buildings of the period were mostly constructed, viz. wood instead of stone.² Megasthenes informs us that "such cities as were situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast were built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time, so destructive were the heavy rains which poured down; and the rivers also, when they overflowed their banks, inundated the plains; while those cities which stood on commanding situations and lofty eminences were built of brick and mud."³ It is also known, on

¹ Bk. IV, उपनिषादप्रतीकारः ।

² V. Smith's *Hist. of Fine Art*, p. 18: "Abundant evidence establishes the fact that Indian architects before the time of Asoka built their superstructures chiefly of timber, using brick almost exclusively for foundations and plinths. No deficiency in dignity or grandeur was involved by the use of the more perishable material." The present excavations at Pāṭaliputra are leading to the discovery of many wooden structures, e.g. pillars, platforms, etc. We are anxiously awaiting a corroboration of our views on this point by such findings.

³ Megasthenes, Bk. II, Fragment xxvi.

the authority of the same Greek ambassador, that Pâtaliputra, the capital, was surrounded by “a wooden wall pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows.”¹ Wood seems to have been very extensively used in those days for building and other purposes, and therefore several precautions were taken and several rules laid down governing the use of fire.

During summer, villagers had to do their cooking in the open air, if they were not already equipped with what was called the *ten remedial instruments* (दशमूलीसंयच).² These were (i) five water-pots (*पञ्चघच्छः*) ; (ii) झुम्ब, a water-vessel of that name ; (iii) द्रोणी, which, according to Bhaṭṭasvâmî, was a water-tub made of wood and kept at the door of a house ; (iv) निशेषी, a ladder ; (v) परश्च, an axe to cut beams, etc. ; (vi) इर्ध, a winnowing-basket to blow off smoke ; (vii) अङ्गुष्ठ, a hook to pull down the burning pieces of wood ; (viii) कच, ropes, etc. ; (ix) घट्टणी, a basket for removing articles from the store-room, etc. ; and (x) वृति, a leather bag for the same purpose as the preceding.

¹ Bk. II, Fragment xxv.

² Bk. IV, उपनिपातप्रतीकारः ।

In the city, every householder had to provide himself with the ten remedial instruments. During summer the kindling of fire was prohibited during the second and third quarters of the day. All men were enjoined, under the penalty of fines, to run to give help, in case fire broke out in any house. Thousands of vessels filled with water had to be kept in rows not only in the big roads but also at the crossings of roads and in front of royal buildings. The masters of the houses had to sleep at night in a place near the main doors of their premises, so that they might be easily accessible and come out of their houses to give help without delay. Thatched roofs made of straw and other materials that readily take fire, were not allowed within the city. Those who worked by fire, *e.g.* blacksmiths, had to live in a particular quarter of the city. Persons wilfully setting fire to a house were severely dealt with. If it was through negligence, only fines were imposed.¹

¹ अग्निप्रतीकारं च प्रीषे मध्यमयोरङ्गस्तु भागयोः अष्टभागोऽग्नि-
दण्डः । बहिरधिश्वयणं वा कुर्यात् । पादः पञ्चघटीनां कुम्भकोषी-
नित्रेणीपरश्चूपाकृष्ट-कच्छव्हणीहतीनां च अकरणे । लणकट-
च्छुद्वान्यपनयेत् । अग्निजीविन एकस्थानं वासयेत् । स्वरुप्त-

To propitiate Fire, offerings were made to him every day and prayers said.¹

A FEW OTHER WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY.

We shall now turn to a few miscellaneous works of public utility, which are not without some interest. These were :—

(i) *Jail deliveries*.—To celebrate the anniversaries of the king's birthday and in commemoration of the birth of a prince, the installation of an heir-apparent, or the conquest of a new country, prisoners were set at large. Generally, on full-moon days, such prisoners as were very young, old or diseased were let out. Sometimes the prisoners were set free in consideration of their uniformly good conduct in the jail.²

(ii) *Advocacy of temperance*.—Only a limited number of people was allowed to take part in

द्वारेषु गृहस्थासिनो वसेयुः । असंपातिनो रात्रौ रथाशु कठव्र-
जास्सस्वर्वं तिष्ठेयुः । चतुष्पथद्वारे राजप्रिप्रदेषु च । प्रदीप-
मनभिधावतो गृहस्थासिनो द्वादशपणो दण्डः । षट्पणो विक्र-
यिणः । प्रमादादीप्रेषु चतुष्पथाशत्पणो दण्डः प्रादीपिकोऽग्निना
वधः ।—Bk. II, नागरकप्रणिधिः, p. 145.

¹ Bk. IV, उपनिपातप्रतीकारः ।

² Bk. II, नागरकप्रणिधिः ।

liquor traffic, and a heavy fine was imposed on those who violated the rule. Liquor was sold only in small quantities not exceeding 1 prastha or $1\frac{1}{2}$ kancha in any case. Liquor shops were not allowed to be set up close to one another, and a Brâhman who took to drinking was very severely punished.¹

(iii) *Grant of jagirs, etc.*—Brâhmans performing sacrifices, spiritual guides, priests—all of them learned in the *Vedas*—were granted lands yielding sufficient produce and exempt from taxes. They were also given forests of *soma* essential to sacrifices.²

The wives and children of those officers who died while on duty received allowances. Infants and aged or diseased persons related to the deceased officers were shown favour. Under pecuniary stress, the officers were given forest produce, fields, cattle, etc., along with a small amount of money.³ Indigent widows and disabled women and girls were provided with work in the weaving depart-

¹ See शुराध्याचः—Bk. II, p. 119, and वाक्यकमीनयोगः—Bk. IV, p. 220.

² Bk. II, भूमिच्छ्रविधानम् ।

³ Bk. V, भूत्यभरणीयम् ।

ment of the State. Those women and girls who did not come out of their houses in strict observance of the *Pardā* system but were compelled by poverty to work for subsistence, had their work brought within their reach daily by women servants of the weaving-house.¹

(iv) Government seems to have kept a close watch that the claims of slaves, hirelings and dependents were not over-ridden. Elders of villages were entrusted with the duty of looking after the orphan minors in a village, and no person having wife and children was allowed to become an ascetic until he had made adequate provision for their maintenance. The State provided with maintenance the infirm and afflicted.²

¹ Bk. II, सूक्ष्माधर्मः ।

² Bk. II, अनपदनिवेशः ।

CHAPTER VII.

THE CENSUS.

IT is interesting to know that there was some form of census current in India over two thousand years ago. Megasthenes hints at this in the following extract we make from his account:—

“The third body of superintendents consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government.”¹

The testimony of Megasthenes is amply confirmed by the details of census and similar operations preserved in the *Arthaśāstra*. The necessity to Government of an intimate knowledge of the places and people under it goes without saying, and it is no wonder

¹ Megasthenes, Bk. III, Fragment xxxii.

that in the effective administrative organization of Chandra Gupta there was found a place for census operations, the scope and aims of which were, however, necessarily different from those of similar operations in modern times.

The distinguishing feature of Chandra Gupta's census appears to be that it was not periodical, but a permanent institution—a department of the State run by permanent officials. The department was a large one, manned by several officers. The head of the department was called समाचर्ता, *i.e.* collector-general, who combined in himself, besides those connected with the census, various other functions, such as collection of revenue, checking accounts, land survey, and the like. The area under his administration was in the first instance divided into four districts, and each district into a number of villages. Each district was placed under an officer (**आनिक**), and under him was appointed a number of subordinate village officers (**गोप**), whose work was supervised by their superiors, the district officers. The village officer was put in charge of five or ten villages, according to the directions of the

collector-general.¹ Besides these, inspectors (प्रदेषा) were appointed for checking both the work and methods of the village and district officers. But this inspection was not enough. Over and above the inspectors, a special batch of officers was appointed by the collector-general to work as spies and "overseers" under various disguises on their own independent lines and supply information on their own account. The sphere of work of the spies was not identical with that of the village officers, for it included certain points of inquiry to which the village officers had to attend, and at the same time a few independent heads of inquiry, as will be explained below.

The functions of the village officers (excluding those in connection with the land survey) were these² :—To number the inhabit-

¹ समाहर्ता चतुर्धी जनपदं विभज्य ज्येष्ठ-सधम-कण्ठ-विभागेन आमाश्रं परिहारकमाधुधीयं धान्यपश्चिमाञ्चल्यविद्विकर-प्रतिकरमिद्देतावदिति निबन्धयेत् । तत्प्रदिष्टः पञ्चपार्षीं दश-पार्षीं वा गोपस्थितयेत् । एवं च जनपदचतुर्भागं खानिकः स्थितयेत् । गोपस्थानिक-स्थानेषु प्रदेषारः कार्यकरणं बलिप्रपश्च च कुर्यात् ।—Bk. II, समाहतप्रचारः, pp. 141, 142.

² तेषु चैतावचातुर्वर्ष्यमेतावतः कर्षक-गोरक्षक-वैदेषिकाशकर्म-

ants of all the four castes in each village; to count the cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, slaves, the young and old men and women of each house, and ascertain their character (चरित्र), occupation (कर्म), income (आजीव) and expenditure (बय) ¹; to number the biped and quadruped animals in each house, the taxpaying and non-taxpaying houses, and determine the amounts of gold, free labour, tolls and fines collected from each house.

The functions of the spies, besides their duties in connexion with land survey and revenue collection, were ² :—To number the total of inhabitants in each village, to number the houses and families in it, to ascertain the caste and profession of each family;

करदासाञ्चेतावच द्विपदचतुष्पदमिदं चैष हिरण्य-विष्टि-शुल्क-
दण्डसमुचिततीति ।

मट्हाणां च करदाकरदसङ्घानेन ।

—Bk. II, समाहर्तृप्रचारः, p. 142.

¹ कुलाणां च जीपुरवाणां बालष्टदकर्मचरित्राजीवबय परिमाणं विद्यात् ।—*Ibid.*

² समाहर्तृप्रदिष्टाच मट्हपतिकब्जना येषु ग्रामेषु प्रणिहितासेषां ग्रामाणां चेन्मट्हकुलामं विद्युः । मानसञ्चाताभ्यां चेचाणि, भोगपरिहाराभ्यां मट्हाणि वर्ण-कर्मभ्यां कुलाणि च । तेषां अह्नामं आयवद्यौ च विद्युः ।—*Ibid.*

to determine which house was tax-free; to determine the occupiers of houses; to ascertain the income and expenditure of each family; to count the number of domesticated animals (जड़ाप) of each house. It will be seen that these points of inquiry are in common with those of the village officers; over and above these, there were a few independent heads of inquiry,¹ viz. to find out the causes of emigration and immigration, to ascertain the number of men arriving and departing, and to watch the movements of men and women of suspicious character. It should be remarked that they had to perform the above duties under the guise of householders (मर्हपतिकवञ्चनाः). Disguised as ascetics (नापसवञ्चनाः), they watched the movement of cultivators, cowherds, merchants, and superintendents of Government departments.² Sometimes, also, under the guise of thieves (चोरवञ्चन), the spies, with their followers, frequented places of pilgrimage,

¹ प्रस्त्रितागतानां च प्रवासावासकारणमनर्थानां च स्त्रीपुरुषाणां चारप्रचारं च विद्युः ।—*Ibid.*

² एवं समाहर्तृप्रदिष्टासापसवञ्चनाः कर्षकगोरक्षकवैदेहकानाम-अच्छाण्या च शौचाश्रीयं विद्युः ।—समहृष्टप्रचारः, p. 148.

bathing-places, deserted tracts, mountains, ancient ruins, etc.,¹ to detect thieves, enemies and wicked persons.

The census of cities and the metropolis was the work of departments under officers called नागरक.² Every city had its नागरक, and was, like the province, divided into four quarters, each administered by an officer known as स्थानिक. Under him worked the minor officers called Gopas (गोप), who had to keep the account of ten, twenty, or forty households as the case might be. They had not only to ascertain the caste, *gotra*, name and occupation of both men and women of those households, but also to ascertain their income and expenditure. To minimize the difficulty of keeping account of travellers and other non-residents,³ managers of charitable institutions were required to send

¹ पुराण - चौरवज्ञनास्त्रानेवाचिनस्यैत्य-चतुष्पथ-पूर्व्यापदोद-पान-नदी-निपानतीर्थायतनात्रमारण्य-इष्टवनगहनेषु सेनाभिच-प्रवीरपुरुषाणां च प्रवेशनस्थानगमनप्रयोजनान्युपलभेरन्—*Ibid.*

² समाहर्त्ववधागरको नगरं चिनयेत् । दशकुलीं गोपो, विश-तिकुलीं च लारिंशत् कुलीं वा । स तस्या खीपुरुषाणां जाति-गोचनामकम्भिः जड्जाग्रमायबयौ च विद्यात् । एवं दुर्गचतुर्भागं स्थानिकचिनयेत् ।—Bk. II, नागरकप्रणिधिः, pp. 143, 144.

³ धर्मावस्थिनः पाषण्ड-पथिकानावेद्यवासयेत् ।—*Ibid.*, p. 144.

information to the census offices in case any such person arrived to reside therein.¹ Masters of households were also similarly required to send reports of the arrival and departure of strangers. If they failed to make such reports they were fined. Merchants, artisans, physicians, etc., had also, under the city rules, to make reports to the officer in charge of the capital regarding people violating the laws of commerce, sanitation, etc., for better management of the city affairs; but as these fall outside the scope of the census, we need not take note of them.

It has been already pointed out that the work of land survey was entrusted to those very officers who conducted the census operations. The duties of the officers in regard to land survey were mainly those of setting and fixing the boundaries of villages, classification and numbering of plots of land as cultivated and uncultivated, plain and upland, wet and dry, and so forth. An account was also kept of gardens and forests, temples and places of

¹ प्रस्तुतागती च निवेदयेत् । अन्यथा रात्रदोषं भजेत् । चेस-
रात्रिषु चिपणं दद्यात् ।—*Ibid.*

pilgrimage, feeding-houses, irrigation works, roads and crematories, storages for travellers, and pastures.¹ The supplementary body of officers or “overseers” had also to examine the accounts of this department regarding the fields, houses and families of such villages.

In conclusion, a few words should be said in regard to the scope and aims of the census operations in ancient India. The necessity of them appears to have rested on political as well as economic grounds. Politically, they were of great advantage to a Government like Chandra Gupta's, surrounded as he was by quite a number of independent hostile kingdoms. The census system kept him and his officers fully informed of those facts that were necessary for the security of the empire. We find it laid down as one of the duties of the census officials that they should watch the movements of suspicious people, of foreign spies, the emigration and immigration of men

¹ सीमावरोधेन प्रासादं छाटाण्ड-खलकेदारारामषण-वाट-बन-
बासु-चेत्यदेवगट्ट-से तु बन्धनशानसच-प्रपापुष्याखानविवीतपर्यि-
सद्यानेन चेचादं; तेन सीमा चेचार्ण च मर्यादारण्ण-पर्यि-
प्रमाण समदान विक्रयानुयृहपरिहारनिबन्धान् कारथेत्।

—समाहर्त्तुप्रचारः, p. 142.

and women of doubtful characters, and ascertain the causes thereof. These are facts of which an accurate knowledge is indispensable for the security of the State.

The census helped them politically in another way. We see in a passage, already quoted in another connexion,¹ that villages were classified not only as of first, middle, and lowest rank, but also as those that were free from taxation (*परिचारक*), those that supplied soldiers (*आशुधीय*), those that paid taxes in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce (*कृष्ण*), etc., and those that supplied free labour (*विष्टि*) ; so that the census was of help to Government by supplying information as to which villages formed the most convenient recruiting grounds for the imperial army.

Economically, the importance of the classification of villages and of the information as to the occupations of the people, their income and expenditure, etc., goes without saying, forming as it did a valuable aid to taxation and a most

¹ समाहर्ता ज्येष्ठ-मध्यम-कनिष्ठ-विभागेन यामार्थं परिचारक-
माशुधीय धान्यपश्चहिरण्यकृष्णविष्टिकरप्रतिकरमिदमेतावदिति
निबन्धेत् ।—(समाहर्तृप्रचारः) ।

reliable index to the material condition of the people.¹

¹ The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. v, p. 662 (New Edition), gives the following account of census operations of a few other countries in ancient times:—

"The fighting strength of the Children of Israel at the Exodus was ascertained by a count of all males of twenty years old and upwards, made by enumerators appointed for each clan. The Levites, who were exempted from military duties, were separately enumerated from the age of thirty upwards, and a similar process was ordained subsequently by Solomon, in order to distribute among them the functions assigned to the priestly body in connection with the Temple. The census unwillingly carried out by Joab at the behest of David related exclusively to the fighting men of the community, and the dire consequences ascribed to it were quoted in reprobation of such inquiries as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. It appears, too, that a register of the population of each clan was kept during the Babylonian Captivity, and its totals were published on their return to Jerusalem. In the Persian Empire there was apparently some method in force by which the resources of each province were ascertained for the purpose of fixing the tribute. In China, moreover, an enumeration of somewhat the same nature was an ancient institution in connection with the provincial revenues and military liabilities. In Egypt, Amasis had the occupation of each individual annually registered, nominally to aid the official supervision of morals by discouraging disreputable means of subsistence; and this ordinance, according to Herodotus, was introduced by Solon into the Athenian scheme of administration, where it developed later into an electoral record.

"It was in Rome, however, that the system from which the name of the inquiry is derived was first established upon a regular footing. The original census was ascribed to Servius Tullius, and in the constitution which goes by his name it was decreed that every fifth year the population should be enumerated along with the property of each family—land, live-

stock, slaves and freedmen. The main object was to ensure accurate division of the people into the six main classes and their respective centuries, which was based upon considerations of combined numbers and wealth. With the increase of the city the operation grew in importance, and was followed by an official *lustrum*, or purification sacrifice, offered on behalf of the people by the censors or functionaries in charge of the classification. Hence the name of *lustrum* came to denote the intercensal term, or a period of five years. The word *census*, too, came to mean the property qualification of the class, as well as the process of registering the resources of the individual. Later it was used in the sense of the imposition itself, in which it has survived in the contracted form of *cess*."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COURTS OF JUSTICE.

It goes without saying that the welfare of the people is determined to a considerable extent by the nature of the law of the land and the efficient administration of justice. Laws are unseen agencies as important for popular well-being as the visible agents of government. The object of this and the following chapters will be to consider in detail some of the laws of Chandra Gupta's Government, the way they were administered, and the contribution they made to the material welfare of the country.

There were two classes of law courts in the country, the धर्मस्थीय courts and the कष्टकर्त्रोधन¹ courts—each differently constituted. There was also a difference in respect of the

¹ Literally, the courts for the removal of thorns (disturbances).

nature of the cases that came under their cognizance.

First, as to composition,¹ each धर्मस्थीय court² was made up of three persons well grounded in the Śastras (*i.e.* धर्मस्थाः) or three ministers (अमात्याः) who sat together for hearing cases.

In each काष्ठकमोधन court, three अमात्य's or three प्रदेशार's sat to decide cases.

Next, as to the jurisdiction of the courts, a धर्मस्थीय court generally decided such cases as arose from the personal grievances of one or a few individuals against another or a few other individuals, and the punishments were only in fines, these fines being not very heavy. The cases that came within the jurisdiction of a काष्ठकमोधन court generally related either to matters that affected the Government, the king himself, the public at large and large bodies of men, or to such other heinous offences as murder. Though small fines were inflicted by this court for offences that were not so grave, yet the fines for the graver offences ranged up to a very high limit.

¹ *Vide* p. 147, अवस्थारस्थापना, and p. 200, काष्ठकरचणम्—Bk. III, Arthaśāstra.

² The text seems to be faulty: “बा” seems to be left out.

This distinguishes it from a धर्मस्थीय court. Another distinction consisted in the fact that it lay in the power of a कष्टकारोधन court to inflict capital punishment, with or without torture according to the gravity of the offences.

Below are given two lists of the kinds of cases that came under the cognizance of the two classes of law courts :—

I. The धर्मस्थीय court tried cases bearing on the following questions :—

- (i) Validity of contracts—व्यवहारस्थापना. (ii) Violation of contracts of service—समयस्थानपाकर्म. (iii) Relation between master and servant, employer and labourer—साम्यधिकारः, भूतकारिधिकारः. (iv) Slavery—दासकर्त्त्वः. (v) Recovery of debts—ऋणादानम्. (vi) Deposits—ज्ञापनिधिकम्. (vii) Rescission of sale—विक्रीतक्रीतानुशृण्यः. (viii) Resumption of gifts—दत्तस्थानपाकर्म. (ix) Robbery and violence—साहसम्. (x) Assault—हष्ठपारथ्यम्. (xi) Defamation—वाक्यपारथ्यम्. (xii) Gambling—चूतसमाक्रम्यम्. (xiii) Sales of property by another than owner—अस्वामिविक्रयः. (xiv) Rights of ownership—स्वामिसञ्चयः. (xv) Boundary disputes—सीमाविवादः, मर्यादास्थापनम्. (xvi) Construction of buildings—वास्तुकम्. (xvii) Sale of house property—वास्तुविक्रयः. (xviii) Damage to agriculture, pasture and public roads—विदीतचेतपथ-चिंसा. (xix) Miscellaneous hindrances—वाधावाधिकम्. (xx) Duties of man and wife—विवाहसंयुक्तम्, विवाहधर्मः, स्त्रीधनकर्त्त्वः, etc. (xxi) Partnerships—सम्बूधसमुत्थानम्. (xxii) Inheritance and succession—दायविभागः, दायक्रमः, etc. (xxiii) Miscellaneous offences—प्रकीर्णकानि. (xxiv) Rules of procedure—विवादप्रदिवनः.

II. The कष्टकारोधन court tried cases relating to the following :—

- (i) Protection of artisans—कार्यकरचणम्. (ii) Protection of merchants—वैदेहरचणम्. (iii) Measures against national calamities — उपनिपातप्रतीकारः. (iv) Suppression of the wicked—गूढाजीविना रचा. (v) Detection of criminals by ascetic spies—सिद्धव्यञ्जनमानवप्रकाशनम्. (vi) Arresting robbers on suspicion or in the act—शक्तारपकर्माभिप्रवः. (vii) Post-mortem examination—आश्रमुतकपरीचा. (viii) Cross-examination—वाच्यकर्मानुयोगः. (ix) Discipline in Government departments—सर्वाधिकरणरचणम्. (x) Fines in lieu of mutilation of limbs—एकाङ्गवधनिक्षयः. (xi) Capital punishment with or without torture—शुद्धिचरच्छदण्डकस्य. (xii) Improper social intercourse—कन्याप्रकर्म. (xiii) Punishments for miscellaneous offences—अतिचारदण्डः.

It should be noted¹ that over and above these courts, the head-man (आमिक) and the elders of a village (पामद्वाः) played an important part in the settlement of disputes among the villagers, and the former was vested with the power of summarily punishing certain offences. It appears from a passage that he could “deport” out of the village under his charge a thief or an adulterer if such a step became necessary.

¹ See बालविक्रमः, p. 169, Bk. III, and विदीतचेतपथहिंसा, p. 171, Bk. III.

The king with his ministers and learned Brâhmaṇs formed the highest court of appeal.¹

Now, as to the seats of the above courts : they held their sittings in every संघरण, i.e. a town forming the headquarters of villages ; in every द्वीपमुख, i.e. a town which was the headquarters of 400 villages ; in every स्थानीय, i.e. a town being the headquarters of 800 villages ; and in every जनपदसभि, i.e. a place centrally situated between any two provinces of the empire. It will thus be seen that the metropolis must have had courts of the above two classes besides the royal law court.²

¹ Bk. I, राजप्रशिष्ठिः ।

² अवधारस्थापना and काशकरचणम् ।—Bk. III ; see also Bk. II, जनपदनिवेशः ।

CHAPTER IX.

LEGAL PROCEDURE.

IN the previous chapter the constitution of the law courts has been dealt with ; in the present, the laws themselves will be considered.

The four basal factors¹ that were taken into account in the administration of justice were : (1) Sacred laws or laws contained in the

¹ धर्मस्य व्यवहारस्य चरितं राजशासनम्
 (a) विवादार्थचतुष्पादः पञ्चमः पूर्वबाधकः ।
 अत्र सत्यस्थितो धर्मो व्यवहारसु साक्षिषु
 (b) चरितं संप्रदे पुंसां राजामाज्ञा तु शासनम् ॥
 —Bk. III, विवादप्रदनिवन्धः, p. 150.

That व्यवहार means here a contractual relation or a contract is indicated by passage (b). It says that धर्म is based on truth, व्यवहार on evidence, and राजशासन on the king's order, while custom is determined by large bodies of people. In fact, witnesses were essential to testify to contracts, which were mostly verbal in those days, and this favours the adoption of the above meaning. Besides, the word has been used in the above sense in Manu—VIII, 163, 164, 167; *vide also the Indian Wisdom* by Monier Williams, p. 268, where the word has been taken to mean contract.

Dharma Śāstras (धर्म), (2) contractual relations created by the parties (व्यवहार), (3) customary laws (चरित्र), and (4) statutory or king-made laws (राजशासन).

In case of conflict between (1) and (2), or between (3) and (4), the former prevailed over the latter (पञ्चमः पूर्वबाधकः); so that a contract could not transcend sacred law or a statute custom. Passages quoted below show, further, that a statute should also be in consonance with sacred law (धर्म), contract (व्यवहार) and equity (न्याय), and that in case of conflict between custom (संस्कार) and contract (व्यवहारिक) the injunctions of sacred law should be followed. It is also stated that in the event of conflict between statute and equity the statute became inoperative and nullified.¹

When a case came up for decision, the pre-

¹ अनुशासदि धर्मेण व्यवहारेण संख्या
न्यायेन च चतुर्थेन चतुरन्ती महीं जयेत् ॥
संख्या धर्मशास्त्रेण शास्त्रं वा व्यवहारिकम्
यस्मिन्नर्थे विवर्थेत् धर्मेणार्थे विनिश्चयेत् ॥
शास्त्रं विप्रतिपद्येत् धर्मन्यायेन केनचित्
न्यायस्त्रं प्रभावं स्यात्तत्र पाठी हि नश्यति ॥

—*Ibid.*, Bk. III, p. 150.

(Here अनुशासन् and शास्त्रं refer to राजशासनस्, i.e. king-made law.)

liminary step taken was the registration of the following particulars regarding the suit :—

(i) The exact date (showing the year, season, month, fortnight and day); (ii) the nature of the offence, and (iii) the place of its occurrence; (iv) the amount of debt incurred, if any; (v) the country, village, caste, *gotra*, name and occupation of the plaintiff (*वादी*) and the defendant (*प्रतिवादी*), both of whom must be competent to sue; and (vi) the statements of the parties, which had to be thoroughly scrutinized by the court.

Each of the parties had to be on guard against the following kinds of the offence termed *परोक्तदोष* (*paroktadosha*) :—

(1) Deviating from the question at issue and taking to another question; (2) contradicting the previous statement; (3) insisting on the need of consulting the opinion of a third person though his opinion be not worthy of such consideration; (4) breaking off while answering a question though ordered by the court to continue; (5) introducing questions other than those already specified; (6) withdrawing the statement already made; (7) not accepting what one's own witnesses have said;

and (8) holding secret conversation with the witnesses when it was not allowed.¹

Besides these,² there were other sorts of परोक्षद्वेष. The plaintiff had to make his rejoinders the very day the defendant had answered, for it was presumed that the plaintiff was ready to go on with the case; otherwise he was guilty of परोक्ष. But if the defendant was not ready for the case, he was allowed three or seven nights to prepare his defence. If he failed to make his defence within that time, he was punished with a fine ranging from three to twelve panas. If he could not answer even after three fortnights, he was guilty of परोक्ष, and the plaintiff could recover out of the defendant's property the amount sued for, unless he (plaintiff) agreed to accept in its stead some good service from the defendant. The same punishment was inflicted on the defendant who utterly failed in his defence. If the plaintiff failed to prove his case within the aforesaid time, he committed a परोक्ष. If he failed to substantiate his charge against a deceased person, he was made to

¹ Arthashastra, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 149 and 150.

perform some of his funeral rites. If¹ he was not a Brâhmañ he might be ordered to perform the ceremonial रक्षोद्धरचितम्. The fine for परोक्त generally was पच्चवन्ध. Making an assertion without any evidence to support it was another परोक्तदोष, the fine for which was दशवन्ध.²

In cases other than strife, violent and direct seizure of property and disputes among merchants, the defendant could not file a counter-case against the plaintiff. Two suits against a defendant for the same offence were not allowed.³

We now proceed to consider the rules regarding witnesses. At the outset it is to be noticed that agents were attached to the law courts for secretly ascertaining if possible the

¹ This passage seems to be a little faulty, and the meaning of the next passage, "आविं वा सकासं प्रवेशयेत्," is not clear.

² Vijnânesvar, in his Commentary on Jâjñavalkya II, v. 174, explains पच्चवन्ध as a fine equal to the fifth part of anything lost or stolen.

If in the light of this explanation, we take the meanings of पच्चवन्ध and दशवन्ध to be the fifth and tenth part of the amount sued for, we meet with difficulty in applying them to line 6, p. 176, Bk. III, वृणादानम्, and line 6, p. 184, Bk. III, दासकर्पणः।

³ अभियुक्तो न प्रत्यभियुक्तिं अन्यत्र कलह-साहस-सार्थ-समवायेभ्यः । न चाभियुक्तेऽभियोगोऽक्षिः ।—p. 149.

real facts of a law-suit, and for reporting them to the judges.¹ How far the information they furnished would be followed in a particular case depended, of course, upon the discretion of the judges. They had to use their discretion with great caution, especially in cases like that instanced in the passage quoted below,² where the depositions of witnesses were inconsistent and contradictory, and consequently in conflict with the statement of the plaintiff, and where there was a divergence of the report of the "informants" from both the statement of the plaintiff and the evidence.

The principal check upon the indiscretions of the judges was the punishment they incurred for their laches and iniquity. The report of the informants had to be utilized therefore with great care, and, with its chances of abuse minimized, it was meant to help the judges sometimes by creating suspicions in their minds which prompted them to sift the

¹ पूर्वोत्तरार्थव्याघाते साक्षिवक्तव्यकारणे
चारहस्ताच निष्पाते प्रदेष्टव्यः पराजयः ।
—Bk. III, विवादपदनिवासः, p. 151.

² *Ibid.*

evidence more cautiously, and sometimes by corroborating the conclusion pointed to by the statements of the witnesses.

We find from the Arthaśāstra that a suit was not dismissed on the ground that there were no witnesses forthcoming to testify to the question at issue. For instance, in disputes regarding the non-payment of the wages of a labourer, he could sue his employer even if he could procure no evidence to support his suit.¹ Such a procedure would appear strange, unless we bear in mind that over and above cross-examination of the parties and overt inquiry that could be availed of in such a case, there was another resource to fall back upon, viz. the secret agency for collecting information. Several such instances will occur to us as we proceed.

Let us now turn to other rules. In a law-suit three witnesses, either *approved by both the parties* (**चनुमताः**), *trustworthy* (**प्रात्यधिकाः**), or *pure* (**शूचयः**),² served the purpose best. In a

¹ Bk. III, दासकर्षणः, p. 184.

² प्रात्यधिकाशूचयोऽनुमता वा चयोऽवरार्थाः । पचानुमती वा द्वौ च्छणं प्रति न लेवैकः ॥—Bk. III, p. 175. असाधानम्, सात्यधिकारः । In view of the fact that even a suit with no

suit for debt, however, two *witnesses approved by the parties* might be sufficient, but never one.

The fact of relationship with the plaintiff or defendant affected the competence of a person as witness. The following persons were not eligible as witnesses, viz., (1) wife's brother (*स्त्राज*), (2) helpmate (*सहाय*), (3) prisoner (*आवङ्ग*), (4) creditor (*घनिक*), (5) debtor (*धारणिक*), (6) enemy (*दैरी*), (7) dependent (*न्यज्ञ*), (8) convict (*भूतदण्डः*). In addition to these a few other persons could not appear as witnesses except in cases which affected their own people : (a) the king (*राजा*), (b) a person learned in the Vedas (*ओचिय*), (c) the village poor (*ग्राममूल*), (d) lepers, etc. (*कुष्ठि, ब्रणी*), (e) an outcast (*पतित*), (f) a *Chāndāla* (*चण्डाल*), (g) a person of mean avocation (*कुत्सितकर्मी*), (h) a dogmatist (*चर्चन्वादी*), (i) a female (*स्त्री*), and (j) a Government servant

evidence to support it could receive hearing, it seems inconsistent to translate “*चयोऽवरार्थाः*” by “at least three witnesses.” So it would perhaps be more reasonable to take “*अवरार्थाः*” in the sense of “serving the purpose best” (*नान्ति वरः यस्तात् = अवरः*).

प्रात्यधिकाः and **शुचयः**—It may be that they refer to two distinct classes of witnesses designated by the two names, the most marked attributes of a witness determining the class under which he falls.

(राजपुरष).¹ In cases of assault, etc. (पारच्छ), theft (स्वेच्छ) and rape (संघर्ष), persons other than the enemy, the wife's brother and the help-mate could bear witness. Any man or woman having secret knowledge of an underhand transaction could be a witness in regard thereto. The king and the ascetics (नापच) were exempted from this rule.

In case of a dispute between father and son, preceptor and pupil, or master and servant, the words of the superiors were given greater credence.

Witnesses had to take oaths to divulge the truth before Brâhmans, vessels of water and fire. There were set formulas, varying according to the castes of the witnesses, by which they were urged to speak the truth. A Brâhmaṇ witness was simply told "Speak thou the truth." The formula for a Kshatriya and a Vaiśya was: "Thou wilt not have fulfilment of thy ambition and wilt have to go a-begging to thy enemies with a skull in hand for a begging-bowl (if thou speak

¹ In this passage it is not clear who are indicated by the words "पूर्वे च अववहार्याः," p. 175, Bk. III, ऋणादानम् (साम्बिधिकारः)।

falsehood)." A Śūdra was exhorted thus : "All thy religious merit will go to thy king and all the sins of the king will come to thee (if thou utter a lie), and moreover, thou wilt be punished. Inquiry will be made as to what has been seen or heard."¹

If the witnesses made a concert among themselves and kept back the truth for more than a week, they were fined twelve panas. If they continued obstinate for more than three fortnights they were punished with the payment of the amount sued for.

When the witnesses gave divergent evidence, the judgment was passed upon the basis of the statements of the majority of pure (शृच्यः) and approved (अनुमताः) men among them. Or the judgment could follow a *via media*, if any such were suggested by the diverse statements of the witnesses. Failing these, the Government assumed possession of the article, if

¹ ब्राह्मणोदकुभापिसकाशे साक्षिः परिग्रहीयात् । तत्र ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयात्—“सत्यं ब्रूहीति” ; राजन्यं वैश्यं वा “मा तवेषापूर्भक्तं कपालहस्तश्चतुवलं भिक्षार्थी गच्छे” रिति । प्रद्वजनम् “मरणान्तरे यद्दः पुण्यफलं तद्राजानं गच्छेत् । राज्ञश्च किल्वर्षं युग्मान् अन्यथावादे दख्ष्यानुबन्धः । पञ्चादपि जायेत घथादृश्युतम्” ।—Bk. III, कृष्णादानम्, p. 176.

any, that formed the subject matter of the dispute.

If an amount were sued for and the witnesses deposed that only a part of the amount belonged to the plaintiff, then the rest of the amount had to be deposited with the Government. If, however, the witnesses testified to an amount greater in value than what was actually sued for, the excess went to the Government coffers.

Those witnesses who were easily accessible were called by the parties themselves; those who were far away or who would not come to court except under compulsion were served with summons (**स्वामिवाक्ता**).

The defeated party had to bear the fees paid to the witnesses. They received a food allowance (**पुरषभूति**) in which were taken into account eight items of food. What these items were is not known. Besides this allowance, they were given the necessary expenses for and during their journey.

A peculiarity of Hindu law courts in ancient times was that the judges had to pay a penalty for their iniquity. They were strictly enjoined to decide cases free from all circum-

vention, steady in all circumstances, impartially and diligently, thus winning the love and confidence of the people ; but if they were guilty of any laches, partiality or any such misconduct unworthy of a judge, they could not escape with impunity. This feature is also noticed in Chandra Gupta's law courts. If a judge threatened, rebuked, silenced or drove out a party to a suit, he was liable to the lowest amercement;¹ and for abusing a party, to a fine of double the amount. If he put irrelevant questions to a party, wilfully omitted to ask a pertinent question, did not note down what he heard in reply to his queries, tutored or provided a party with his previous statements, he was fined the middlemost amercement. If he inquired into unnecessary circumstances, caused delay by such inquiry, postponed work on flimsy pretexts, tired the parties out of court by his dilatoriness, misled them, helped the witnesses with clues, or resumed the work already disposed of, he was punished with the highest amercement. If he committed any of the offences a second

¹ For the three kinds of amercement, see Bk. III, चाहस्म्, p. 192.

time, he was fined double the amount and dismissed.

For an unjust fine, a धर्मस्त्र or प्रदेश was fined double the amount or eight times the excess of the amount over the prescribed limit, according to the nature of the offence. If a corporeal punishment were unjustly inflicted, he was condemned either to the same punishment or to the payment of twice the amount fixed in lieu of that kind of punishment. The judicial officer who brought to naught a good case or helped to concoct a false one was fined eight times its value.

The scribe who took down the statements of the parties was liable to the following punishments for negligence or misconduct. If he wilfully omitted to note what was said, noted down what was not said, left out what was badly said, or rendered diverse or ambiguous what was well said, he was liable to the first amercement or to any other punishment proportional to his guilt.

Care was taken to prevent the escape of a culprit from the law court (*धर्मस्त्रीय*), the *hâjat* (*चारक*), or the prison (*मन्त्रनागार*), as

well as to prevent the abuse of the jailor's authority.¹

It is not clear who tried the judges for their misconduct. It seems most likely, and it is also consonant with the ancient Hindu law-codes, that the king or his associate judges tried them.²

Certain latitude seems to have been given to the superintendents of the several State departments to summarily dispose of certain kinds of offences committed by their subordinates. How far their power extended in this direction is not clearly defined, but it seems to have been confined to the offences done by the subordinates in their course of business.

¹ See Bk. IV, सर्वाधिकरणरचना, pp. 222, 223.

² See J. R. A. S., vol. ii, p. 198—"On Hindu Courts of Justice."

CHAPTER X.

THE LAW OF CONTRACT.

§ 1.—GENERAL.

To understand the full significance of contract (व्यवहार) as it obtained over two thousand years ago, it is essential that we should free our minds from the modern associations of the institution.

We shall begin with a general statement of the requisites of a valid contract, and then follow out each of those requisites in detail.

A contract¹ was of course a two-sided

¹ (X) तत्त्वात् साक्षिमद्व्यवहारं कुर्यात् सम्बन्धिभाषितम् ।

से परे वा जने कार्यं देशकालाग्रवर्णतः ॥

—Bk. III, औपनिधिकम्, p. 181.

(Y) से से तु वर्गे देशे काले च सकरणक्षता

सम्बूर्णचाराश्शुद्धदेशा दृष्टरूपलक्षण-प्रभाणगुणास् सर्वं

व्यवहारा स्थितेयुः ।

(पश्चिमं लेखा करणमादेशाधिवर्जी वदेयुः)

—Bk. III, व्यवहारस्थापना, p. 148.

In (Y), सकरण may be taken to refer to the free exercise of

act, and the parties thereto could be both individuals as well as groups; e.g. a body of persons engaged in a common concern (सम्बूध समुदाय) was entitled to be a party to a contract.

Secondly, a contract had to conform to the following restrictions, viz. (a) that the agreement between the parties should be

one's will, though a technical meaning (=document) may be attached to करण (*vide* Manu, VIII, 51, 52, 154).

I quote here Manu, VIII, 51 :—

अर्थेऽपव्ययमानन् करणेन विभावितम् ।
दापयेद्विकस्थार्थं दण्डलेशस्त्र शक्तिः ॥

But whichever meaning is taken, the reference to the unfettered exercise of the will of the parties is apparent in both the cases. करण in the second sentence in (Y) seems to bear the meaning of "document." स्थार्थ refers to the object or the स्थाय of the contract, and रूप to the circumstances under which a contract is made. This meaning of रूप (circumstances as opposed to the time and place of a contract) is found in Manu, VIII, 45—

सत्यमर्थं च सम्पदेदावानमय साचिषः ।
देवं रूपं च कालं च व्यवहारविधी स्थितः ॥

प्रमाण=authority. It seems to refer to capacity of the parties, witnesses, etc. सम्पूर्णचार refers to all the technicalities that are to be complied with. शुद्धदेश, however, seems to be a needless repetition of what is implied by देश that goes before.

clearly expressed (सम्बिभाषित), (b) that it should not be made in secret (अच्छङ्ग), and (c) that it should be in the presence of witnesses (साक्षिमत्).

Thirdly, it should comply with certain conditions as to time (काल), place (देश) and वर्ग (i.e. caste, class, etc.).

Fourthly, the object (लक्षण) for which the contract was made and the circumstances (रूप) attending it must be such as not to offend against law in any way; e.g. there must be no undue influence, etc. (अपयहण).

Fifthly, the consideration (वेतन) must not be illegal and improper; the parties, witnesses and agents must be competent (प्रभावगुणसुक्ष्म). In short, the contract must conform to all the technicalities of law, i.e. it must be समुर्णचार [see passages (x) and (y), f.n.].

The first requirements, as I have already stated, are that the agreement of the two parties should be expressed properly and that there must be no secrecy about it. Witnesses have to be called when a contract is formed. It appears that instruments (करण) are used in contracts, and when the terms of a contract are entered on an instrument, the witnesses

can be dispensed with.¹ We find its parallel in some of the Sanhitâs. But witnesses were a necessity in oral contracts.² We find, however, an exception to this general rule. A suit was not dismissed on the ground that no witnesses were forthcoming to testify to a point at issue. In a dispute, for instance, regarding the non-payment of the wages of a labourer, the employer could be sued even if

¹ An analogy to this rule is found in Colebrooke's *Digest*, vol. i, p. 16, third edition, where the contract of loan is dealt with :—

"Brihaspati, quoted by Bhavadeva, Vâchaspati and Chandrasevar : A prudent lender should always deliver the thing, but, on receiving a pledge of adequate value either to be used by him or merely kept in his hands ; or with a sufficient surety *and either with a written agreement or before credible witnesses.*"

Yâjñavalkya, II, 91.—"But every document which is in the handwriting of the party himself is considered as sufficient evidence even without witnesses, unless obtained by force or fraud." For the passage of Manu on this point, see *supra*. For references to documents in contracts, see the passage (Y) quoted above ; see also the last sentence, p. 176, वृषादानम्, which runs thus : वाज्ञिश्यादभियोकुर्वा दुःश्रुतं दुर्लिखितं प्रेताभिनिवेष्टं वा समीच्य साचिप्रत्ययमेव स्थान् ॥

² It has been pointed out, while dealing with legal procedure, that three witnesses either approved by both parties (अनुमताः), trustworthy (प्रात्ययिकाः), or pure (शुचयः) served the purpose best. In a suit for debt, however, two witnesses approved by the parties might be sufficient, but never one. For a parallel rule as to the number of witnesses, see Yâjñ., II, 69, 70 ; Manu, VIII, 60, 77.

the former could adduce no witnesses.¹ Other instances of this exception will be furnished by the class of contracts called तिरोच्चित्, to which we shall have occasion to turn presently. The presence of witnesses was repugnant to the object of a तिरोच्चित् contract; it was entered into in secret. A document may sometimes be used in such a case in lieu of witnesses, but sometimes there may be neither a document nor any witnesses.² Under such circumstances a dispute was decided by examination of the parties themselves, by a reference to any custom that might govern the transaction, by taking the opinion of experts (कृष्णाः), by utilizing other resources that the court commanded, e.g. the information given by the "agents" attached to the law courts, and by looking to some form essential to the transaction, e.g. the seal in the case of a sealed deposit. So we see that, as a general rule,

¹ दासकर्त्त्वः, कर्मकरकर्त्त्वः || Bk. III, p. 184.

² Manu, VIII, 109 and 110 (S. B. E.)—"If two (parties) dispute about matters for which no witnesses are available, and the (judge) is unable to really ascertain the truth, he may cause it to be discovered even by an oath."

"Both by the great sages and the gods oaths have been taken for the purpose of (deciding doubtful) matters; and Basishtha even swore an oath before King (Sudasa), the son of Pijavana."

openness and publicity were required for the formation of a contract, which had to be entered into in the presence of witnesses. The absence of witnesses could be made up for by an instrument or otherwise.¹

Let us now turn to the restrictions as to time and place with which a contract had to comply. As a rule, the following contracts were void, viz. those that were (i) नक्षत्रात्, i.e. formed during night; (ii) अन्तरगारात्,² entered into in the interior apartment of a house; (iii) अरण्यात्, made in a forest; and (iv) उपकरात्, formed in any other secret place.³ The object

¹ In this connection it should be noted that a person who overheard or saw a thing by stealth could be taken as a competent witness—रहस्य व्यवहारेष्वेका स्त्री उरुष उपनिषदा वा साक्षी स्त्रात् राजतापस्यन् ॥ p. 176—साक्षिकारः. Other rules as to witnesses, that have been pointed out in connexion with legal procedure in general, apply also to contracts under proper circumstances.

² Manu takes note of the interior apartments of a house (अन्तरगार) and of forests (अरण्य): Manu, VIII, 69. Kauṭilya also particularly mentions them. Yājñavalkya mentions both नक्षत्र and अन्तरगार contracts in Bk. II, 82.

³ तिरोऽचितान्तरगार-नक्षत्रारण्योपध्युपकर-दत्ताच्च व्यवहारान् प्रतिबेधयेयुः । कर्तुः कारणितुष्ठ पूर्वस्साहसदण्डः । श्रोतृषामेकैकं प्रत्यर्थदण्डः । अद्देयानां तु इव्यवपनयः ।

Exceptions :—

(a) परोक्षेणाधिकरणप्रवृणमवक्षयकरा वा तिरोऽचितासि स्थेयुः ॥

of making these contracts void is, as already pointed out, that the law wanted to discourage clandestine contracts as far as possible. However, to remove possible hardship to particular classes of persons who might suffer by these rules, there were exceptions to the four rules. I shall speak of them here in the order of the above rules [*vide (c), (b), (d), and (f)*]:—

(i) Though all नक्तकान contracts are void, yet those that have some connexion with or are made to ward off violence, attack and affray, those that are formed for doing anything connected with the celebration of marriage, as well as those made under orders of Government, were valid. The contracts made by the पूर्वराचयवहारिणः also fall under

(b) दायनिकेषोपनिधि विवाहयुक्ता स्त्रीणामनिष्टासिनीर्ण व्याधितानां चामूढसंज्ञानामन्तरगारकतासिस्थेयुः ॥

(c) साहसानुप्रदेश कलह विवाह राजनियोगयुक्ताः पूर्वराचयवहारिणां च राचिकतासिस्थेयुः ॥

(d) सार्थव्रजात्रम् - व्याधचाराणां मध्यवरण्यचराणामरण्यकासासिस्थेयुः ॥

(e) गूढाजीविषु चोपधिकृताः सिध्येयुः ॥

(f) मिथ्यस्समवाये चोपकरकृताः सिध्येयुः ।

अतोऽन्यथा न सिध्येयुः ॥—Bk. III, अवहारस्थापना, pp. 147, 148.

this exception.¹ It will be seen that all the cases mentioned here are cases of great emergency. Unless the rule is a little relaxed in respect of people trying to defend themselves from assault, etc., the protection of their life and property would be an impossibility, and it

¹ The exceptions under (i) seem to contemplate such cases as this:—If A promises B to pay a certain sum of money in consideration of his informing a police officer of a burglary that is being committed in A's house, the contract cannot be impeached on the ground that it was made at night.

पूर्वरात्र व्यवहारिणः—**पूर्वरात्र** is the time from dusk to midnight. The use of the word in this sense occurs in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Kausika Sūtra, Kātyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra, Mahābhārata, Pāṇini II, i, 45, commentary (see Monier Williams). Those who usually transact business during this time are therefore **पूर्वरात्रव्यवहारिणः**. But who exactly are meant is not clear. If we take the meaning to be any persons who enter into contract during **पूर्वरात्र** then an objection may be raised that if such a case had been contemplated some such sweeping rule as the following would not have been laid down, viz. that any **नक्षत्र** contracts are void; the general rule could then well have been that all **अपररात्रक्षत्र** contracts are void. Again, if all contracts be allowed up to midnight, why they cannot be allowed, say, a few minutes after midnight would be difficult to explain. Removal of secrecy about the contracts is the general policy, and therefore if all sorts of contracts are allowed during the first half of the night, they will offend against and for the time negative this policy. So it is most probable that only a limited set of persons is the object of consideration of the Government in this case, in view of the hardship that they will otherwise be put to, and therefore **पूर्वरात्र व्यवहारिणः** has most likely a technical meaning and refers to a limited group of persons.

is for the same reason, as well as for its own safety, that the State reserves to itself a full contractual freedom. Again, Hindu marriages are never celebrated before dusk, and sometimes the *lagna* (propitious moment) may shift so far into the night as to touch even its small hours; hence it is a necessity that contracts conditioned by such marriages should be sanctioned. As to the exemption relating to the class of persons last mentioned, there is some haziness as to who exactly are meant. The literal meaning of the word, viz. those who usually do their business during the first half of the night, does not carry us very far.

(ii) This exception shows some consideration to diseased *pardāh* women (अनिष्टासिष्टःस्त्रीयः). If in a sound state of mind, they can make valid contracts relating to दाय (division of property), निचेप (open deposit), उपनिषि (sealed deposit), and विवाह (marriage) in the inner apartments of the house, though the general rule is that अनर्गार contracts are void.

(iii) Exemption is given by the third exception to traders (सार्थ), बजारम्, i.e. cowherds, etc., hunters (आध), spies (चार), and those who have to roam in the forests fre-

quently (मध्येष्वराण्णचर). They can enter into valid contracts in the forest, though contracts by all others in that place are void.

(iv) The fourth exception relates to the उपकर contracts. उपकर, as will appear from the text, refers to any secret place other than the private apartments of a dwelling-house or a forest. The general rule is that any contract in any such secret place is void, the exception being in favour of partners in a concern (मिथ्स्समवाय).

It should be noticed that in all the four excepted cases, the requirements as to witnesses, or in lieu of witnesses the requirements as to document, had to be complied with, though of course if a case occurs in which neither any witness nor any instrument is available, and which falls within any of the exceptions, it will stand on its own merits, and the judges may try such a suit if they find it possible to do so, or may dismiss it. Another point that should be noted is that if a person tries to make a contract which is void on any grounds, the proposer (कर्ता), the acceptor (अदेय), the witnesses (ओना), and the person who brings together the parties (कारणिका) are all fined.

Now we turn to the legality of the object

(लक्ष्य) and consideration (वेतन) of a contract. The object and consideration must be legal, and be such as can be upheld by a law court according to equity and good conscience. In the case of a contract in which one party tries to take undue advantage of the other, the court will interfere in favour of the party who is at a disadvantage. A concrete example given in the Arthaśāstra will make it clear. If a person who is being carried away by flood, or is caught in a fire, or is in danger from wild animals, be rescued on his promise to give to his rescuer not only the whole of his property but also his sons, wife and himself as slaves, the proposer cannot be made to perform his promise, it being opposed to all justice and common sense, and therefore illegal.¹ The rescuer can realize only as much as is fixed by experts (कृष्णाः) appointed by the law courts. Similarly, in the instance given of a contract with a public woman, improper demand made by her from her paramour or *vice versa* cannot succeed ; the court does not support any such

¹ Bk. III, p. 184,—दासकल्पः, कर्मकरकल्पः ॥ नदीवेगजाला-
सेनचालोपरहं सर्वस्पृच्चदाराद्विनेनार्थजातारमाङ्गय निश्चीर्णः
कुभजप्रदिष्टं वेतनं दद्यात् । सेन सर्वचार्तदानानुशया व्याख्याताः ॥

demand. Likewise, it will be seen from the passages already quoted that the general rule is that all उपचाक्षन्, i.e. fraudulent contracts, are void, but an exception is made in favour of the spies appointed by Government. They can in their capacity as spies achieve their object by fraudulent contracts and are not penalized for the fraud they commit. It seems to me that cases like the following are contemplated by this rule: A spy, for instance, makes friends with a person whom he suspects to be a thief, and gradually insinuating himself into his confidence, proposes to buy the goods he has stolen. After taking possession of the stolen goods, the spy refuses to pay the value promised and puts the machinery of the law against him instead. In such a case the law court punishes the thief, but it cannot punish the spy as well for the fraud he has committed; neither can the thief bring a suit against the spy on the same ground. Thus the law softens its rigour and legalizes an evil to suppress a greater evil.¹

¹ E.g., Katyayana says: "If a bribe be promised for any purpose it shall by no means be given although the consideration be performed." (See Colebrooke's *Digest*, vol. i., p. 462, third edition.)

Now that the four kinds of valid contract, नक्षत्रात्, अन्नरगारात्, चरणात् and उपकरणात्, which derive their validity on account of the exceptions laid down, have been dealt with, it is time that we should turn to the valid (तिरोहित) contracts. A place is तिरोहित if it be such that anything done there would be sheltered from human sight.¹ It therefore includes अन्नरगार, चरण as well as उपकर. Now let us look at the matter from another stand-point. Under cover of night a place may become तिरोहित, i.e. may be out of view on account of darkness. Therefore a तिरोहित place which is परोच्च has reference both to the nature and situation of the place as well as to time, e.g. night. The general rule is that contracts made in such a place are void, and the exception that attaches to this rule derives its validity from the objects in pursuance of which the contracts are formed. We shall consider the objects shortly, but before doing so, let us inquire whether the validation of a proper तिरोहित contract necessarily involves a

¹ परोच्चेणाधिकर्णपूर्वमवक्षयकरा वा तिरोहितासि सञ्चयः ॥
Bk. III, p. 147. Here परोच्च explains तिरोहित. A तिरोहित place is one which is परोच्च, i.e. sheltered from human gaze.

deviation from the restriction that night vitiates all contracts. It seems that such a deviation takes place in this case. We see that two classes of objects are mentioned which can validate निरोहित contracts, viz. (i) अधिकर्णप्रवृत्तम्, *i.e.* contracting a heavy debt, and (ii) objects which are अवक्षयकर, *i.e.* cannot be expressed and brought into others' notice owing to the delicacy attaching thereto. As to (i), it should be noticed that incurring a heavy debt detracts from the credit and reputation of the debtor and lowers him in the estimation of the people who come to know of it. Therefore, for the benefit of the debtors perhaps, such an exception has been made. Regarding (ii), a difficulty arises as to what kinds of delicate and secret matters are meant. Among the numerous instances furnished by the Arthaśāstra a valid contract between a woman of the town and her paramour seems to be, from its delicate nature, an instance in point.

We can well see that in a contract which involves a delicate matter, the contracting parties will rather seek the covert of night for the secrecy it can afford and shun by all

means the light of day. In view of this, it is in no wise strange that an express sanction is given to a deviation from the restriction as to night. It should further be stated here that a valid निरोहित contract also contravenes the general restrictions as to अन्तरगार, उपकर and अरण, for it has been already pointed out that निरोहित includes all the three places.

One word remains to be said to mark out more distinctly the difference between a निरोहित contract on one side and the three other contracts on the other. The principal difference lies in the objects of the contract, the objects of निरोहित contracts being secret and delicate. There are a few minor differences, which are apparent from the statements already made.

We shall next consider the restrictions as to the वर्ग of the witnesses [see passage (Y)].¹ The word वर्ग appears to be very comprehensive, and signifies everything that the expressions अपवर्णतः and से परे वा जने in passage (X) can imply. Kauṭilya does not explain clearly the restrictions, but they have to be interpreted in the light of what Manu and other

¹ The references here are to the two passages (X) and (Y) quoted in the foot-note at the beginning of this chapter.

such ancient lawgivers say on the point. In Manu the following rule is laid down, viz.—

“Women should give evidence for women, and twice-born men for twice-born men of the same kind, virtuous Śūdras for Śūdras, and men of the lowest caste for the lowest.”¹

The commentary of Medhātithi throws more light on this point. He says that “twice-born men of the same kind” means “twice-born men of the same caste, occupation, etc.” The line से परे वा जने कार्ये (कुर्यात्) अपवर्णतः² signifies that a Brāhmaṇ should choose a Brāhmaṇ for a witness, a Kshatriya a Kshatriya, and so forth ; and failing that, a person belonging to another वर्ण may be taken as witness. Therefore the two passages (x) and (y) lead to this conclusion that the contracting parties should try to make their contracts in the presence of castemen of the same sex and occupation as themselves in the first instance, failing which they can take witnesses belonging to the same caste and sex but having a different occupation, and when this also fails, men of a different वर्ण may be called.

Next we consider the rules about the capacity

¹ सौर्णं साद्यं क्लियः कुर्याद्विजानां सद्भास्त्राद्विजाः

शूद्राश्च सन्तः शूद्रानामन्यानामन्ययोनियः ।—Manu, VIII, 68.

² अपवर्णतः refers to the four वर्ण, viz. Brāhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Śūdra. [See passage (Y) *supra*.]

of parties to make a valid contract. No contract can be made if any of the parties be (i) in a fit of anger (क्रुद्ध), (ii) under stress of extreme sorrow,¹ distress and danger (आर्त), (iii) intoxicated (मत्त), (iv) insane (उन्मत्त), or (v) under undue influence, duress, etc. (अपमर्हीत).

Those who act in supersession of these bars are fined as already pointed out.

In connexion with the subject of contracts made through agents, of which I shall speak presently, a few terms occur which imply some other absolute disabilities so far as the principals are concerned.² अप्राप्यवहार, for instance, indicates an age below which a person cannot make a valid contract on his own account ; similarly, अतीतव्यवहार³ signifies

¹ In the case of an agreement with an आर्त (man in distress), though no contract with him can hold good at law, yet we find that the law court makes him pay a sum fixed by experts (कुर्सला:) if he has already got any benefit from the other party. (See Arthashastra, Bk. III, p. 184, दासकल्पः.)

² अपाश्रयविक्षिप्त लताः, पितृसत्ता पुचेष, पिता पुचवता, निष्कृष्टेन भावा, कनिष्ठेनाविभक्ताशेन, पतिमत्या पुचवत्या च लिथा, दासाच्छितकाभ्यां, अप्राप्तातीतव्यवहाराभ्यां, अभिष्ठसप्रभजितव्यज्ञवसन्यनिष्ठृद्यवहारेभ्यः ।

—Bk. III, व्यवहारस्थापना, p. 148.

³ अतीतव्यवहार literally signifies a person who has lost his capacity to contract in any way ; but most probably a limit of age is meant.

another disability, due most probably to an age-limit beyond which a person is supposed to lose the amount of discretion that is necessary for making contracts on his own behalf, though he may act as an agent under the instructions of his principal, just as a minor can. Manu and others, however, make decrepit old age (*स्वरितम्*) an absolute bar. It should also be noted that an ascetic (*प्रवृत्ति*), a person convicted (*भिन्नस्*), one physically deformed (*बद्धः*), or one passionately addicted to any kind of evil practice, *e.g.* drinking (*वसनी*), can, according to Kauṭilya, make contracts on behalf of principals authorizing them, but Kauṭilya does not clearly state whether they can also enter into contracts on their own behalf. Some of our ancient lawgivers, however, mention a few of the above conditions as nullifying contracts.

One other disability remains to be mentioned. A woman cannot have pecuniary dealings with a man or a woman with whom she is forbidden by law or by her superiors to do so.¹ If she

¹ See Bk. III, p. 156, विवाहसंयुक्ते—प्रतिषेधः.

Cf. Nārada to Indra in the *Harivansha*: "No man, O thou subduer of foes, should have pecuniary dealings with him from whom he desires much affection, nor visit his wife in his absence."—Colebrooke's *Digest*, vol. i, p. 16.

violates the prohibition she is punished. This rule applies also to a male.

We shall now consider the rules about the appointment of agents. The following persons, if authorized by the principals, can make contracts as agents :—

(i) Dependents, for the person who supports them, (ii) son, for the father, (iii) father, for the son, (iv) a brother, for another brother though not belonging to the same joint family, (v) a younger brother belonging to the same joint family, for an elder brother, (vi) a woman, for her husband or her son, (vii) a slave, for his master,¹ (viii) a minor (**चाप्राप्तवयचार**), for one who has attained majority and is otherwise competent to contract, (ix) a person who is **अतीतवयचार** (see above), (x) a person convicted (**अभिशक्त**), (xi) an ascetic (**प्रवृत्ति**), (xii) a physically deformed person (**बद्ध**), and (xiii) one addicted to passion (**वसनी**).²

I shall now name here the principal transactions that bear the character of contract :

¹ For the meaning of **आहितक**, see Arthashastra, Bk. III, p. 182, **दासकर्त्त्वः**.

² For the text, see *supra*. The text seems to be a little faulty in its first portion, and so I interpret it subject to some doubt.

(i) ऋणादानम् (loan), (ii) विक्रय (sale), (iii) निचेप (open deposit), (iv) उपनिषि (sealed deposit), (v) mortgage, pledge, etc., (vi) hire, (vii) partnership, (viii) contract of service, and (ix) a few other miscellaneous contracts.

From the above we have an idea of the elements that made up अवक्षार in Chandra Gupta's time. The elements that constituted a अवक्षार may well justify us in calling it a contract, though, of course, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the time in which it prevailed, it assumed a different complexion. We notice also that Government exercised a good deal of control over the details of the subject's life, and therefore legal interference touched spheres now looked upon as merely moral or social. A vagueness necessarily attaches to some of the details of अवक्षार, but on the whole we see its broad features and in them a generic likeness to a modern contract.

§ 2.—SALE AND PRE-EMPTION.

We have discussed the general principles underlying Hindu contract in Chandra Gupta's time, and shall proceed to discuss some

of the more important contractual transactions.

We begin with the sale of immoveable property. The first provision in regard to this is that the piece of property on sale has to be offered for purchase in the first instance to the kinsmen (**जातयः**) of the seller. If they do not propose to buy, then the property has to be offered to the neighbours, who can claim such right on the ground of vicinage or participation in the appendages (**सामन्नाः**); and on their refusal to purchase, the property is to be offered to the creditors of the seller (**चनिकाः**).¹ These rules evidently indicate that something like the right of pre-emption existed in those days. The texts concerning pre-emption are very few in Sanskrit legal literature, and even those that exist have been explained away by later commentators. I quote here Prof. Jolly's view on this point :—

"A trace of pre-emption in the Hindu law occurs in the text quoted in the *Mitāksharā*² and other standard law books. It is

¹ **ज्ञातिसामन्नधनिकाः क्रमेण भूमिपरिप्रहान् क्रेतुभभ्याभवेद्यः ।**
—Bk. III, वासुविक्रयः, *Arthashastra*, p. 168.

मर्हवासुकम्; वासु here means मर्हं चैवारामम् सेतुबन्ध-
साङ्कमाधारो वा, p. 166.

² Colebrooke's *Mitāksharā*, chap. i, sect. i, 81.

as follows—‘Transfers of landed property are effected by six formalities: by consent of fellow-villagers, kinsmen, neighbours and co-parceners, and by gift of gold and water.’ This text indicates clearly the existence in the early period of the Hindu law of a feeling that a transfer of landed property is not valid unless the neighbours, fellow-villagers and others who are but remotely concerned with it should have given their consent to its being effected. These persons might therefore be supposed, perhaps, to have been invested with a right of pre-emption. Whatever notions may have been prevalent on this subject in the early period of the Hindu law, this much is clear, that the compilers of those commentaries and digests of law on which the modern law is based did not approve of any sort of pre-emption. Thus the *Mitâksharâ*, in dealing with the above text, deprives it entirely of such legal significance as may have once belonged to it. The consent of fellow-villagers, according to the *Mitâksharâ*, is required for the publicity of the transaction merely; but the contract is not invalid without their consent. The consent of neighbours tends to obviate future disputes concerning boundaries. The consent of kinsmen and co-parceners is indispensable when they are united in interest with the vendor. If they are separate from him, their consent is useful because it may obviate any future doubt as to whether they are separate or united, but the want of their consent does not invalidate the transaction. This interpretation of the *Mitâksharâ* may be viewed as an instance of the way in which the Indian commentators used to dispose of obsolete laws. At the same time, it shows clearly that anything approaching to pre-emption was entirely foreign to the ideas of such an eminent authority as *Vijñânésvara*, the author of the *Mitâksharâ*.¹

A few other texts besides the one referred to above occur also in the *Mitâksharâ*. They are :—

¹ See also *Vivâda Chintâmani*, translated by P. C. Tagore, p. 309.

(1) "In regard to the immoveable estate, sale is not allowed ; it may be mortgaged by consent of parties interested."¹ This text, like the above, is also anonymous.

(2) The text of Br̥ihaspati cited in the Mitāksharā, viz. "separated kinsmen, as those who are unseparated, are equal in respect of immoveables, for one has not power over the whole to make a gift, sale or mortgage."

The way in which these two texts have been explained away may be found by a reference to their respective sections in the Mitāksharā.

(3) In a passage in the Mahānirvāna² Tantra the rules of pre-emption are set out thus :—

"The proprietor of immoveable property having a neighbour competent to purchase it is not at liberty to sell such property to another. Among neighbours, he who is a relation or of the same tribe is preferred. In their default, a friend and the will of the seller prevails ; even though the price of immoveable property be agreed upon with another, yet if a neighbour pays the price, he is the purchaser and not another. If the neighbour be unable to pay the price or be consenting to the sale, the proprietor is then at liberty to sell it to another. O Goddess ! if immoveable property be sold in the absence of the neighbour, and he (the neighbour) pays the price immediately on hearing of the sale, he is competent to take it. But should the purchaser, having made houses or gardens, be in enjoyment of them, the neighbour is not entitled to take such immoveable property even by paying the price."

¹ Colebrooke's *Mitāksharā*, chap. i, sect. i, 32.

² इदमोक्षाच, Slk. 107 ff., Macnaghten's translation.

The Tantras have never been recognized as authorities on law; neither have these rules been quoted in any current authentic law book. So they have failed to influence the practical law of the present day, and the net result is that, except in Behar and some other provinces of India, the right or custom of pre-emption is not recognized as prevailing among the Hindus; and in the districts where the custom has not been judicially noticed the custom has to be proved in each case.

It is generally inferred from the way in which the commentators explain, or rather explain away, the texts, that it was at the time of the Muhammadans that the right of pre-emption first came to be recognized among the Hindus. Such an inference cannot be supported if we read properly the mental attitude of the commentators. The later the legal authority, the more hostile is he to restraint on alienations of property. It cannot be denied that the rule, that a member of a joint family cannot sell his share in the joint property without the consent of his co-sharers, aimed at a result similar to that which the Muhammadan

law of pre-emption intends to achieve.¹ The provision that a field cannot be sold without the consent of the whole village in particular cases, or without the consent of the family, which certainly existed in ancient times, also points to the same conclusion.²

It is often argued that the absence of a Sanskrit name for pre-emption shows the absence of the custom. Such a position is absurd on the face of it, for what is described at length need not necessarily be named. Besides, in all the cases we have noted, the subject of pre-emption has been subsumed under a more general one which has given its name to the chapter, and so we do not find a Sanskrit equivalent.³

From the above it appears that the custom of pre-emption among the Hindus dates back to a much more ancient period than is generally supposed, and the advent of the Muhammadans

¹ The author of the Dāyabhāga sets aside the rule by saying that sales of undivided shares are immoral but valid in law.

² *Vide* E. W. Hopkins's *India Old and New*: Land Tenure in India.

³ The word प्रत्यात् in Manu, VIII, 399, no doubt implies a right of first-purchase or pre-emption, as Monier Williams calls it, but it is claimed by Government, and in regard to moveables (भास्त्रानि); therefore it cannot be called pre-emption proper.

only marks a particular stage in its history. The passages in the Arthaśāstra serve only as evidence of a custom which is much older than the passage itself.¹

Having now seen how a piece of immoveable property was offered for purchase to certain classes of persons in preference to others in the days of Chandra Gupta, let us turn to further stages in the process by which the sale was effected.

The fact of the property being on sale has to be announced publicly in the presence of a large number of men who come from not less than forty neighbouring houses, and who have no personal interest in the sale.²

As immoveable property includes cultivated fields,³ gardens, enclosed spaces, tanks and reservoirs, each of these kinds of property, before being put to sale, has its boundaries

¹ *Vide* in this connexion Sivāraṇīlal's *Law of Pre-emption*.

² सतोऽन्ये वाच्चासामन्नचलारिंशत् कुला मृष्प्रतिमुखे वेश्म आवयेदुः । सामन्नप्रामणदेषु चेत्मारामं सेतुबन्धं तडाकमाधारं वा मर्यादातु यथा सेतुभागं “अनेनार्थेण कः क्रेता” इति चिराद्युपित्रीतमव्याहर्त क्रेता क्रेतुम् लभेत ।—वास्तविक्रयः, p. 168.

[For सेतुबन्ध, see p. 60. पुष्पफलवाटषष्ठकेदारमूस्तवापास-सेतुः]

³ See f.n. above.

accurately defined in the presence of the neighbouring village-elders and elderly villagers (सामन्तप्रामणदेव्यु).

Then the crier (प्रतिक्रीष्टा) shouts thrice the following words: अनेनार्थं कः क्रेता, i.e. "Who will buy at this price?" thus announcing the price of the property fixed by the seller. The purchaser who accepts the price then enters upon the purchase if the sale be unconditional and not objected to by any claimant.

A tax is levied upon all such sales, and in the event of any increase of price owing to superior natural advantages, the unearned increment goes to the State.¹

The crier is responsible for the collection and payment of the tax on the sale.² Any fraudulent announcement of sale of property of which the seller is not the proprietor is punishable with a fine of 24 panas. No sale

¹ सर्ववायोर्बा भूस्यवर्धने भूस्यदहि: सप्तुल्का कोशं गच्छेत्
p. 168.

² विक्रयप्रतिक्रीष्टा इत्येकं दद्यात् । असामिप्रतिक्रीष्टे चतुर्विं-
श्शतिपणो दण्डः । सप्तरात्रादूर्जमनभिसरतः प्रतिक्रीष्टो विक्री-
शीत । प्रतिक्रीष्टातिक्रीष्टमे वाल्मुनि द्विशती दण्डः, अन्यत्र चतुर्विं-
श्शतिपणो दण्डः ॥—*Ibid.*

can be kept in abeyance for more than a week, within which time the possession must be delivered to the buyer and the sale completed. If the purchaser is by fraud passed over and the property transferred to another, the irregularity is punishable with a fine of 200 panas. The punishment for other sorts of fraud is 24 panas.

The following restrictions in regard to the sale of immoveable property are also to be noticed. Tax-payers (*करदाः*) can sell their fields to tax-payers alone, and Brâhmaṇs can sell their *प्रस्तुदेय* or gifted lands to those Brâhmaṇs only who are endowed with such lands. Violation of this rule is punishable with the first amercement. Neither can a tax-payer enter on a holding exempted from the payment of taxes. If a tax-payer enters on the holding of another tax-payer, he becomes the owner of the whole property except the house (*भग्नार*) of the seller, unless it be given over by express agreement. If a non-taxpayer allows his land to lie fallow, another competent person may enjoy it for five years, after which he has to return the same to the owner after taking due compensation for the improvement made. The non-taxpayer

may live elsewhere, retaining the ownership of his land.¹

It may be noticed in passing that the period of prescription in respect of immoveable properties was usually twenty years, but it does not hold good in the case of the enjoyment of a piece of immoveable property by kinsmen, priests, or by heretics during political disturbances; neither does it apply in cases of mortgage.²

We shall now consider the rules regarding moveables. In the sale of moveables, no elaborate formalities are needed. It appears that in a sale of moveables, property passed by payment of price and delivery of possession.

A refusal to perform a contract of sale, or a refusal to sell an article put for sale by a dealer, was punished with a fine of 12 paṇas; but if the seller could prove any of the following three pleas he was exempted:—

(1) That the article in question has defects (दोष).

(ii) That it has been lost by अपनिपात, i.e. has

¹ विवीतस्तेचपथहिंसा, p. 171, etc.

² स्वर्गाभिसम्बन्धः, p. 190 ff. Cf. Yājñ., II, 24, 25.

been stolen, or confiscated by the State, or destroyed by flood or fire.¹

(iii) That it has been found on examination to be unacceptable because it does not possess many of the properties originally imputed to it, or because it has been manufactured by diseased persons (अविष्ट).

(iv) Another excuse for non-performance of a contract of sale is that a fragile thing contracted for sale to a person cannot be retained longer without detriment to it, and so it has been sold to a third person.

The time allowed for rescission of sale is one night for traders, three for cultivators, and five for cowherds. With regard to the sale of the necessaries of life, however, a period of seven nights is allowed to people of all classes.

A person not accepting an article bought by him is fined 12 panas unless his case has any of the excusing grounds mentioned above.²

If diseased or unclean bipeds and quadrupeds are sold as healthy or clean, the seller is fined

¹ Yājñi. uses the words पर्यादोष and राजदैवोपघात while speaking of non-delivery of sold articles.—II, 259.

² विक्रीतक्रीतानुशयः, p. 187 ff.

12 panas.¹ The time for rescission of sale is three fortnights for quadrupeds, but as regards bipeds no time is expressly mentioned in the text. The rescission rule is applicable in the sale of slaves also, and a period of one year is allowed.

The principle followed in these rescissions is that the judges should try to effect them without detriment either to the seller or the buyer as far as possible.

As regards sale through agents (*वैद्याष्ट्यविक्रयः*),² the following rules are laid down. Agents selling the merchandise of wholesale dealers at prices prevailing at particular localities and times shall hand over to the wholesale dealers as much of the sale-proceeds and profit as is realized by them. If, owing to the default of the selling agents to sell at the proper place and at the proper time, there be a fall in the prices, the agents shall pay the value and profit at the rate which obtained when they received the merchandise. If, however, the wholesale dealers agree to remit the profits, the agreement

¹ *Ibid.* Cf. Manu, VIII, 222, 228, on Rescission of Sale.

² *वैद्याष्ट्य-विक्रयः*—चौपनिधिकम्, p. 179.

will be carried into effect. In case of a fall in the price, the reduced sale-proceeds would be given to the wholesale dealers. If the agents represent that the goods have been destroyed or lost by अपनिपात (explained above) or in transmission (प्रेष), and if the representation appears reasonable¹ and trustworthy, and is not contradicted by any official report, then the value of the goods need not be made good to the wholesale dealers. The profit and value of the articles would be calculated after making due allowance for all the necessary wear and tear they undergo if they are sold at a distant future, or at a distant place. If the wholesale dealers are combined in a partnership, then each will take his own share of the value and profit or loss. The rest of the rules are to be supplied from those regarding deposit (अपनिषि).

Some of the following rules regarding the fraudulent sale of articles² are wide enough and can cover cases in which sale does not come in ; but as all of them may also apply to cases

¹ संव्यवहारिक—generally intelligible, *i.e.* reasonable.

² असामिकित्यः, p. 189 ff.

where a sale is involved, they have been put here together.

On the detection of a lost article in the possession of a person, the owner will cause him to be arrested by the order of the judge of a court ; if, however, time or place does not permit this process, he can arrest the person himself and realize the article. The judge shall put this question : "How have you got the article ?" If he narrates how he got it, but cannot produce the seller, he will be acquitted, but will lose the article. If the seller is produced, he shall pay not only the value of the article but will also be liable for theft. If the seller runs away or hides himself with the article till it is wholly consumed, he shall not only pay its value but also be liable for theft.

After proving his title to the lost article, the owner shall be allowed to take possession of it ; but on failure to prove his title, he is to pay a fine of five times the value of the thing, and the State takes the article. If the owner takes possession of a lost article without obtaining permission of a court, he shall be punished with the first amercement.

Stolen or lost articles, on being detected by persons other than the owner, are to be deposited at अस्त्रास्थान, *i.e.* the place for the collection of tolls. If no claimant be forthcoming, such an article is taken by the State.

He who proves his title to a lost or stolen biped shall pay 5 panas as ransom (*निष्काय*) before taking possession. Likewise, the ransom for a single-hoofed animal (*एकचुरस्य*) is 4 panas; for a cow or a buffalo, 2 panas; for minor quadrupeds, $\frac{1}{4}$ pana; and for precious stones, etc., 5 per cent. of their value.¹

Whatever of the property of his own subjects the king brings from forests or countries of enemies, shall be handed over to its owner. Whatever of the property of his subjects stolen by thieves the king cannot recover, shall be made good by the State. If the king be unable to recover such a thing, he shall allow any person who volunteers to fetch it; otherwise, he shall pay an equivalent compensation to the sufferer.²

¹ Cf. Yājñ., II, 171-177.

² असामिकिक्षणः, p. 190. A parallel to the liability of the State for compensation to the injured party for loss of the sort mentioned above is to be found in Manu, VIII, 40; Yājñ., II, 87,

Ownership in properties continues though the owner is away from the place where they lie, but the owner who neglects to question the enjoyment of his moveables by another for ten years continuously loses his right therein. The aged and the minors, the diseased and the distressed, the sojourners abroad and those who have forsaken their country for good, are exempt from this rule. The exemption also applies to cases where the assertion of title is prevented by absence due to political disturbances, as also to open and sealed deposits, pledges, treasure-troves, women, boundaries, and articles belonging to the priests and the State.¹

§ 3.—LOANS.

We shall now discuss the subject of loans. The rules regulating loans are justly recognized to be of great importance, for on them depends

275; and Nārada, II, 17. It is interesting to note that a similar provision has also been incorporated in the Manu-Kyay-Damathat of the Burmese law: "If cattle have been stolen, the inhabitants of that district were held liable to which the footmarks of the stolen cattle are traced."—Richardson's Transl., IV, 8, p. 117.

¹ असामिक्रायः, सामिसम्बन्धः, p. 190 ff. Cf. Manu, VIII, 145-149.

to a large extent the economic welfare of the country, राजन्ययोगज्ञेस as Kauṭilya puts it.¹

In those olden days the exploitation by the grinding money-lenders of the necessities of the poor and the needy was checked by a fair rate of interest. The fair rate was determined by the State, which punished all deviations from it.

The legal rate² of interest for a money-lender, as mentioned in the Arthaśāstra, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. per

¹ राजादानम्, Bk. III, p. 174.

² This rate of interest, viz. $1\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. per month, is also found in the Saphitās. The question is whether it was charged on a secured debt or not. Vyāsa is very explicit on this point. He says: "Monthly interest is declared to be an eightieth part of the principal, if a pledge be given; an eighth part is added if there be only a surety; and if there be neither pledge nor surety, two in the hundred may be taken from a debtor of the sacerdotal class" (see Cole's *Digest*, i, 80). Yājñavalkya also makes $1\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. per month the interest on a secured loan, for he enjoins that "on a secured loan the interest every month is one-eightieth part of the principal" (II, 88, M. N. Dutt's ed.). Manu, Vaśishṭha and Nārada are at one on this point. "A money-lender may stipulate, as an increase of his capital, for the interest allowed by Vaśishṭha, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred" (Manu, VIII, 140, S. B. E.). According to the commentators Kūl., Nār., Ragh., and Nand., the rule refers to a secured debt, but Med. and Gov. think that the rule refers to cases where the creditor is able to live on this interest and is not compelled to take a higher rate for his living. However, the former is the view accepted on all hands, supported as it is by the parallel passages of Yājñ., etc. (see also Cole's *Digest*, i, 24). Vaśishṭha's text runs thus: "Hear the interest for a money-lender declared by the words of Vaśishṭha: 5 māshas for

month, *i.e.* 15 p.c. per year. For the reasons given below, it seems that this rate of interest was chargeable on secured debts, the maximum rate allowed on unsecured ones being prescribed

20 kārshāpanas may be taken every month; thus the law is not violated" (II, 51, p. 16, S. B. E.). One kārshāpana being equal to 20 māshas, the rate is 1½ p.c. per mensem. Nārada also refers to Vaśishṭha: "Let a money-lender take in addition to the principal the interest fixed by Vaśishṭha, viz. an eightieth part of a hundred in every month" (I, 99, S. B. E.). Brihaspati prescribes an eightieth part of the principal to be the interest on it every month (XI, 3, S. B. E.), while Gautama says: "The legal interest for money lent is at the rate of 5 māshas for 20 kārshāpanas per month" (XII, 29, S. B. E.). On the strength of the other Saṅhitās, these two passages would no doubt be taken to relate to the case of secured loans. Baudhāyana, however, differs from all the above authorities by prescribing a different rate of interest, viz. 1 p.c. per month. His rule is that "a sum of 25 kārshāpanas shall bear an interest of 5 māshas per mensem" [I, 5, 10—(22), S. B. E.]. He does not expressly apply it to cases of secured debts; but even if it be taken to apply to unsecured loans, the difference from the other Saṅhitās does not cease; for almost all the authorities quoted above, including Viṣṇu and Hārīta, expressly mention that the creditor may take 2, 3, 4 and 5 p.c. (and not more) as monthly interest on unsecured loans according to the order of the castes, *e.g.*, a Brāhmaṇ debtor has to pay 2 p.c. per month, a Kshatriya debtor 3 p.c. per month, and so on. So Baudhāyana is the only dissentient authority in regard to this point.

In view of the general correspondence of the Saṅhitās as to the rule that 1½ p.c. per month is the interest to be charged on a secured loan, I am inclined to take the passage in Kauṭilya, "सपादप्णा घम्या मासद्विः परमतसः," as applicable to secured loans. This view gains further support when we take into account the fact that no separate rates of interest are

by the next passage as 5 p.c. per month. But the rate is allowed to increase in view of the risks to which the investment of the money lent, and consequently its realization,

mentioned in connexion with the rules regarding pledges, upon one kind of which, viz. where the thing pledged is used by the pledgee, interests are chargeable; nor are they mentioned in regard to rules about mortgages.

The rate of interest allowed by the *Sanhitas* in the case of the *Sudra* debtors, viz. 5 p.c. per month, corresponds with that given in the second passage of the *Arthaśāstra* (अर्थाशास्त्रम्, p. 174, Bk. III): “पञ्चपाणा व्यावहारिकी”; and as the *Sanhitas* apply the rule to unsecured loans, I am inclined to think that the passage of Kauṭilya mentions the maximum rate allowed in the case of unsecured loans.

Laws restricting the maximum rate of interest are found in many countries both of ancient and mediæval times. In Greece, “the Seisachthira of Solon (B.C. 594), according to some ancient writers, included a reduction of the rate of interest, stated by Plutarch to have been about 16 p.c. per annum. In the opinion of Grote, however, no restriction was put by it upon interest. At Coreysa, in the second and third centuries B.C., loans on good security commanded 24 p.c., while the common rate at Athens in the time of the Orators was 12 to 18 p.c. . . . Such high rates were exceedingly oppressive to agriculturists, whose fortunes are always precarious” (Palgrave’s *Dict. of Pol. Ec.*).

According to the same authority, “the ancient law of Rome allowed interest which, as usual in agricultural communities, reached an exorbitant height, and popular suffering necessitated a readjustment of debts. The law of the Twelve Tables (B.C. 451–450) first, according to Tacitus, limited the rate to one-twelfth part of the capital . . . In B.C. 347 interest was fixed at 5 p.c.; in B.C. 342 it was abolished altogether by the Lex Genucia. Although the prohibition of interest long remained law, it was found impracticable . . . The Lex Unciaria of the

are exposed. Accordingly, the money borrowed by persons going to forests for trade is allowed to return an interest of 10 p.c. per month, while, on the same principle, the interest payable by the merchants who trade by sea is allowed to mount up to the maximum rate of 20 p.c. per mensem.¹

A disregard of the maximum limits is punished with fines payable not only by the money-lender and the intermediary, but also by the witnesses to the transaction.²

Consuls Sulla and Rufus fixed the rate of interest at 12 p.c. per annum . . . By a decree of the Senate in B.C. 50 this became the legal limit throughout the Roman provinces."

Diodorus the Sicilian, who visited Egypt in the middle of the first century B.C., gives us some information about the early Egyptian law on this point: "For those that lent money by contract in writing, it was not lawful to take usury above what would double the stock, and that payment should be made only out of the debtor's goods, but his body was not to be liable in any wise to imprisonment; and those were counted the debtor's goods which he had either earned by his labour, or had been bestowed upon him by the just proprietors." (Diodorus, vol. i, Bk. I, ch. vi, p. 81: transl. by C. Booth.)

¹ “दशपण कान्नारकाणा।” Yājñ. uses the word कान्नारग in a similar context—

कान्नारगात् दशकं सामुद्रा विश्वकं शतम्
दद्युष्वा सदाता दद्वि सर्वे सर्वात् जातिषु—II, 89.

² ततः परं कर्तुः कारयितुश्च पूर्वस्साहसदेः । श्रोतृषामे-
कैकं प्रत्यर्थदेः ।

The interest on grain in seasons of good harvest shall not exceed more than half its quantity when valued in money ; that on the capital contributed by the members of a commercial company shall be one-half of the profit and be payable as each year expires. In case of partners who by long absence or by maladies such as idiocy are disabled from participation in the business, they may be discharged from partnership by being paid twice the amount of their original capital.¹

A person claiming interest when it is not due, or claiming as principal the sum-total of the real principal and interest, shall pay a fine of four times the amount under dispute. False claims were punishable with fines of four times the amount falsified. If both the debtor and the creditor mis-state their claims, the punishment is divided between them in the proportion of 1 : 3.

The following persons were exempted from

¹ The text is चिरप्रवासं स्वभप्रविष्टो चा मूलद्विगुणं दद्यात् । p. 174. It seems that “स्वभप्रविष्टः” should be “स्वभप्रविष्टः.” In “बाचस्यात्,” “स्वभ” has been explained as “जडता,” by which no doubt such maladies as insanity, idiocy, etc., are meant. One suffering from these would be स्वभप्रविष्टः.

payment of interest: (i) persons engaged in long-continued sacrifices, probably in view of the general good believed to have been produced thereby; (ii) the diseased; (iii) those detained in the house of their preceptor for studies; (iv) minors; and (v) the indigent.

The repayment of debts is also subject to the following rules.¹ The creditor is fined 12 panas if he refuses to accept in proper time the sum due, unless the refusal be founded upon some adequate grounds. Moreover, in case of refusal, the sum tendered may be deposited by the debtor with some third person, and no interest accrues upon it for the time subsequent to the date of deposit.

The creditor is liable to a penalty for want of diligence on his part to realize his money within ten years next following the due date; for after this period the loan is barred by limitation. But exceptions are made in favour of (i) the senile, (ii) the diseased, (iii) the dis-

¹ Cf. Yājñ., II, 45: "If a creditor, for the multiplication of his own money, does not take it when offered back by the debtor, and if the latter deposits it with an umpire, interest ceases from that date."

tressed, (iv) minors, (v) sojourners in other countries, (vi) persons who have forsaken their country (देशत्यागी), and (vii) those who are prevented from claiming their dues owing to political or other disturbances.

The sons of a deceased debtor shall repay the principal with the interest thereon. If the deceased have no sons, the debts shall be paid by those who inherit his property; or the debt shall be paid by the surviving joint-debtors if it were contracted jointly with them.¹ Where there are sureties for payment, they shall be held liable.

The rules as to surety for payment of a debt are: A minor cannot stand as surety. If there be no restrictions in the contract of surety as to time or place, it shall be borne by the sons, grandsons, or any persons inheriting the property of the deceased surety in case the debt be not paid by the debtor. They have also to bear the liability of the deceased person as surety in regard

¹ प्रेतस्य पुत्राः कुरुतीदं दद्युः । दायादा वा दिक्षयहराः सहभास्त्रिष्ठः प्रतिमुखो वा ।

Of. Yājñ., II, 51, 52; Vishṇu, VI, 27, 28 ff.; Manu, VIII, 166; Nārada, I, 2 ff.; and Brihaspati, XI, 48 ff.

to (i) personal services, (ii) marriage-dowry, and (iii) transactions concerning immoveable property.

When there are several debts owing by a single person to several creditors, two creditors cannot sue the debtor simultaneously except in the case of resistance by the debtor,¹ and in the suit the order of the debts has to be proved before the court.

No suit for debt can lie between husband and wife, father and son, and brothers of undivided interests. Cultivators and Government servants cannot be apprehended during working hours for debts contracted by them. The wife is not as a rule liable for the debt of her husband even if it be acknowledged by her, except in the case of debts due to herdsmen and cultivators.²

A husband is liable for the debt of his wife, and if he absconds without making any provision for the debt, he shall be fined with the

¹ प्रतिष्ठमान—resisting. (Monier Williams.)

² The meaning of this exception is to safeguard the interests of these useful occupations for the benefit of the public.

The text has अर्दसीनि. Yājñ. uses the word अर्दसीरित् (I, 168) in the sense of “a cultivator who takes half the crop for his labour.”

highest amercement. If he denies the debt, witnesses are depended upon.¹

§ 4.—DEPOSIT, ETC.

The next item for our consideration in connexion with contract is the law relating to deposits.

There were two kinds of deposit, viz.:—

- (i) Sealed (अपनिषिद्ध) and
- (ii) Open (निषेप).

A *sealed deposit*, according to Yājñavalkya, is an article enclosed in a box under seal which the owner delivers into the hands of the depositary without saying anything as to its nature.² An *open deposit* is not put under any cover, and the nature, quality, form, etc., of the

¹ In the *Saṅhitās*, e.g. in Yājñ., II, 47 and 49; Nārada, I, 18, 19; Brihaspati XI, 50, 53; and Vishnu, VI, 82, 37, the husband is not as a rule liable for the debt of his wife unless it be contracted for the benefit of the family. Among herdsmen, washermen, hunters, distillers of spirit, etc., the husband is invariably liable for the wife's debt, because "the income of these men depends on their wives, and the household expenses are borne by them also."

² Yājñ., II, 66 (M. N. Dutt's ed.); also Nārada, II, 5 (S. B. E.). Brihaspati, XII, 3 (S. B. E.), runs thus: "When a chattel enclosed in a cover and marked with a seal is deposited without describing its nature or quantity and without showing it, it is termed an *aupanidhika* deposit."

The commentary (in Colebrooke, i, 272) on Nārada cited in

article deposited are known to the depositary at the time of making the deposit.

The rules as to sealed deposits apply *mutatis mutandis* to open deposits, and *vice versa*.

The acceptance of deposit is gratuitous, but the depositary is responsible for its safe custody. If he puts it to his own use, he has to pay a compensation (भोगवेतन) fixed according to the circumstances of the case, in addition to a fine of 12 panas. If use by the depositary or his carelessness diminishes the value of the article deposited, the loss has to be made good and the fine doubled. If it be either pledged, sold or wasted by him, a fine¹ is imposed ; if exchanged

the Mitâksharâ should be noticed: “‘Nârada cited in the Mitâksharâ’: When a thing is deposited under seal, without mentioning its quantity, if its kind and form be unknown, it is considered an *upanidhi*; but the wise call a specified deposit *nikshepa*.

“‘If its kind and form be unknown’: if the depositary know not whether it be gold or silver or what. ‘Under seal’: secured by a private knot to prevent its being taken by another person, or secured by the impression of a seal on which particular letters are engraved; when a thing is so deposited, the bailment of it is *upanidhi*. A specified deposit (or the bailment of a thing of which the quantity, kind and form are mentioned) the wise call *nikshepa*.”

¹ The fine is चतुर्गुणपद्धत्य. I have already pointed out the difficulty of giving a meaning to पद्धत्य consistent with its use in other passages, e.g. that at p. 176, Arthâśâstra.

or wilfully destroyed, its value is realized from the depositary. He is, however, exempted from liability if the deposit is lost, destroyed or damaged through no laches on his part, e.g.¹ by the ravages of hostile kings, wild tribes, or other invaders; by *vis major* such as flood or fire; or, during transit at sea, by the ship sinking or being plundered by pirates.

The deposit must always be returned to the actual depositor; otherwise the depositary is answerable.² If the depositary denies having received the deposit, the antecedent circum-

¹ प्रेतबसनगतं वा नोपनिषिद्धमभ्याभवेत् ॥ (p. 178, *ibid.*). This passage most probably contemplates the destruction of the deposit along with the property of the depositary, in which case neither the deposit nor compensation can be demanded from him by the depositor. This meaning of the passage enables us to distinguish the case from those of destruction of the deposit by *vis major*, etc., at p. 177, which also excuse the depositary from all liability. The interpretation of the passage, viz. "When the depositary is either dead or involved in calamities, the deposit shall not be sued for," is opposed to all reason and justice; for, should not the heirs who get possession of the deposit along with other articles of the deceased, or the depositary himself though involved in calamity, be held responsible for the return of the deposit?

For a parallel to the meaning that seems to me more reasonable, *vide* Nárađa as quoted in Colebrooke, i, 282: "What is lost together with the property of the bailee is lost to the bailor; so if it be lost by the act of God or of the king, unless there was a fraudulent act on the part of the depositary."

² Cf. Manu, VIII, 185.

stances are examined; moreover, Kauṭilya by way of example mentions a few dodges which are employed in such cases to find out the truth, and which are similar to those enjoined by Manu. These artifices are meant for the protection of unwary people against the wiles of dishonest depositaries. The artisans, says Kauṭilya, are a class of this sort. They are very clumsy and incautious in their dealings, and make deposits without any evidence, documentary or otherwise. It is for such people specially that the aforesaid procedure is meant. Manu prescribes that "on failure of witnesses, let the judge actually deposit gold with the defendant under some pretext or other, through spies of suitable age and appearance, and afterwards demand it back. If the defendant restore it in the manner and shape in which it was bailed, there is nothing of that description in his hands for which others accuse him. But if he restore not that gold, as he ought, to those spies, then he shall be compelled by force to restore both the deposits."¹ The honesty of the bailee in the second transaction is taken as an index of his integrity in

¹ Manu, VIII, 182-184.

the first. This is the key to the various means mentioned by Kauṭilya for testing the honesty of the bailee. When a defendant denies having received an open deposit, for which there is no evidence, the plaintiff, with the sanction of the judge, takes a few men to the house of the depositary, stations them in a secret part of the house, but within hearing, and then goes to the bailee as if alone; and in the course of conversation with him tries to make him say the truth. The plaintiff may very likely succeed in the attempt, for the bailee does not know that he is being overheard by other people who will bear witness against him. If he unwarily says anything that may favour the plaintiff in his claim, the judge uses it when deposed to by the witnesses.

Another method used to elicit the truth is to employ a spy, who, in the guise of an old, diseased merchant, appears before the defendant depositary as if after a long journey through a forest, or in the middle of his professional tour, and seeks as a measure of relief to leave with him his chattels secretly marked. After some time he sends his brother or son to take back the articles. If they are re-

turned quietly, the bailee proves himself honest; if not returned, he is found guilty in this as well as in the previous transaction and visited with the punishment prescribed for theft.

A third trick employed for the same purpose is that of a spy, in the guise of a respectable gentleman bent on renouncing the world, leaving an article in the hands of the defendant bailee. After a while he returns and claims it. If it is not returned, the bailee is punished as above.

Similarly, a spy may pretend to be a simpleton, and at night represent to the defendant bailee that for fear of being arrested on suspicion by a police officer for carrying an article through the streets, he wishes to leave it with him. Accordingly, he leaves it in his custody. But, in spite of this precaution, a police officer (who seems also to be employed to help him in this artifice) arrests him and puts him in *hâjat*, whence he demands the deposit back. If the bailee restores it, well and good; otherwise, he is punished.

In these cases the chain of transactions by which the article in dispute passed into the

defendant's possession, the validity of those transactions, and the social and financial position of the plaintiff are carefully examined.

These artifices, it seems, were more frequently needed for cases of open deposit than for those of sealed deposit, the reason being that open deposits were often made in a hurry, the depositor having hardly any time or opportunity for taking precautions as to witnesses, etc.¹

Pledge (आर्प).

Kauṭilya does not expressly mention the rules to be followed when the article pledged is used, sold, pledged, lost or misappropriated, but leaves them to be inferred from the allied rules laid down in connexion with deposit. If the pledge be coupled with the condition that it will be used by the pledgee, then the pledgor can release it at any time he likes, and no interest is charged. In other cases the time is limited, and the interest accrues due

¹ The materials for this part of the section have been drawn from Bk. III, pp. 177, 178, 180, 181, except where otherwise indicated.

for the period. A pledgee who refuses to return the pledge when duly demanded back by the pledgor is fined 12 paṇas. If the latter goes to release the pledge at a time when the former is away from home, he can redeem it by paying the money to the elders of the village;¹ or the then value of the pledge being ascertained, it may be left where it is, and interest ceases to accumulate.² If there be an apprehension that the pledge may depreciate, it may be sold, with the permission of the court, in the presence of the superintendents of pledges (**चाषिपाल**), or of special Government officers (for whom, see *infra*³), or in the presence of the pledgor alone.

Mortgage.

A piece of mortgaged immoveable property may be of two kinds, viz. (i) yielding income without any labour, (ii) yielding income after labour being spent on it. When the money lent, as well as its interest, has been realized

¹ Cf. Yājñ., II, 63.

² Yājñ., II, 64.

³ **चनाशविनाशकरणा**, lit. officers who provided against loss or destruction.

from the income of the mortgaged property, it shall be returned to the mortgagor with its value undiminished. If the mortgagee enjoys the mortgaged property without the sanction of the mortgagor, then it shall be returned with compensation for such enjoyment, after the capital lent is realized.¹

The rest of the incidents of mortgage are like those of deposit, with the necessary modifications. As regards the mortgage of lands, the restriction is that the revenue-paying lands can be mortgaged only to holders of such lands, and Brāhmaṇeya (*i.e.* given away to Brāhmans) lands only to owners of similar lands.²

Ādesa (bill of exchange), etc.

Two other forms of contract next engage our attention, viz. *Ādesa* (आदेश) and *Anvādhi* (अन्वाद्धि). An *ādesa* is literally an order, and it seems to mean an order to a third person to pay up a sum of money on behalf of the sender of the order. It is akin to a modern bill of exchange in its simplest form. *Anvādhi* is, as

¹ Cf. Yājñ., II, 68, p. 178, Arthaśāstra.

² Bk. III, p. 171.

Kâtyâyana puts it, "a bailment for delivery."¹ Its incidents, according to Kauṭilya, are as follows :—If a person entrusted by a merchant with an article for delivery to a third person does not reach the destined place, is robbed on the way by thieves, breaks the article or abandons it, the merchant shall not be responsible ; nor the kinsmen of the carrier if he dies on the way. Kauṭilya does not expressly mention other incidents of these two forms of contract, but leaves them to be inferred from those of deposit.

In loan for use (याचिनक) ² and hire (अवशीनक), the article which forms the subject of the transaction has to be returned to the owner in the state in which it was received ; but if it be lost or destroyed by lapse of time, by flood, fire or rough transit, by being confiscated by the State or stolen by thieves, it need not be made good.³

¹ Colebrooke, vol. i, p. 278. "Kâtyâyana: 'When a thing is bailed with these directions, viz. deliver this, as by my desire, to such a man when he shall demand it for his own business, it is called *anvâdhi*.'"

² *Vide* Colebrooke, vol. i, p. 278; for fine prescribed for not returning article hired or borrowed, *vide* Bk. III, p. 198, Arthaśâstra.

³ Bk. III, Arthaśâstra, p. 198, adds: "When a person does not return at the required time or place the property that has been hired or borrowed, pledged or deposited, he is fined 12 paṇas."

The rules of *open deposit* apply to these two forms of contract as far as possible.

Contract of service.

People near at hand should be called to witness the nature of the contract between a master and a servant. The wages fixed by mutual agreement shall be paid to the servant, but if no such wages have been fixed, then it will be in proportion to the time spent and the quality and quantity of the work done. If the wages be not settled, a cultivator shall generally obtain one-tenth of the crops grown by his labour, a herdsman one-tenth of the butter clarified by him, and a commercial agent one-tenth of the business transacted by him.¹

Artisans, artists, musicians, physicians, buffoons, etc., shall each get wages like others of his profession, or such wages as will be fixed by experts on evidence adduced. If no evidence be produced, it will be in proportion to the work performed. Fines are imposed for non-payment of wages, as also for denial of wages due.²

¹ Bk. III, p. 183, Arthaśāstra.

² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

A servant neglecting or not doing work for which he has been paid is fined 12 paṇas. When incapable of working, or refusing to work on the ground that he is diseased, distressed or that the work is servile, he may get exemption, or take leave to have the work performed by a substitute whose wages will be in proportion to work done by him.¹ An employer refusing to accept the work duly performed by a workman, as also an employee not doing the work for which he has been engaged, is fined 12 paṇas, and the latter must never desert his work for a more lucrative job elsewhere. If an employer does not accept the services of a workman who according to contract presents himself for it, the latter will be deemed to have done his full duty. This is the view of some legal authorities, but Kauṭilya differs from them, and holds that wages should be given only for work actually performed and not for that left completely unfinished. If, however, the employer works the labourer ever so little and then unreasonably dismisses him, the unfinished work will be looked upon as finished and wages cal-

¹ Lines 1 and 2, p. 185 of the text, seem to be defective.

culated accordingly. Variations of time or place are sufficient grounds for the annulment of a contract for service, and any work in excess of what is contracted for goes for nothing.

These rules also apply to workmen who have formed themselves into an association, with this difference that a grace of seven days is allowed them after the fixed period, after which they can have the work done by substitutes. Without the leave of the employer, they must never leave anything in the place of work or remove anything therefrom; for the former offence the fine is 12 paṇas, and for the latter 24. The members of an association may each receive the wages agreed to by him, or may divide the total wages earned by them all equally among themselves.¹

An agricultural labourer refusing to work for the person by whom he has been called from a different place, is fined twice the amount of his wages, and double the price of food and drink with which he may be provided. If he has been called for work in connexion with a sacrificial performance, he is fined twice his

¹ For the above, *vide* Bk. III, pp. 184, 185, Arthaśāstra.

wages on his refusal to work. The fines thus realized go to the village fund.¹

Partnership.

(a) Traders or cultivators who engage in work after joining partnership shall apportion among themselves the profits, after the performance of the work in hand and before entering on a fresh one. The performance of work by a substitute does not abate the share of profit due to a partner. The traders shall have shares of profit of the partnership business immediately after the commodities in stock are sold out. The losses sustained by the goods during transmission are to be borne by the partners equally.

A partner deserting his work is fined 12 panas, for he cannot withdraw from the business at will after it has been commenced. Theft committed by a partner for the first time should be pardoned and his dues paid ; but a second such offence, as also his second untimely withdrawal, causes his expulsion from partnership. In grave offences, he is, in addition, treated as a criminal.

¹ Bk. III, p. 178, *ibid.*

The shares of profits of the partners may be equal or otherwise, according to contract among themselves.¹

(b) Priests officiating at a sacrifice shall share their earnings equally or as agreed to, over and above what may be specially due to each for his portion of work.

In sacrifices like Agnishṭoma :—

A priest dying after the rite of Consecration is entitled to one-fifth of what he would have received for his full work.

A priest dying after the rite of Soma-purchase is entitled to one-fourth of what he would have received for his full work.

A priest dying between the rite of Madhyamopasat and end of that of Pravargyodvâsana is entitled to one-third of what he would have received for his full work.

A priest dying after the rite of Maya is entitled to one-half of what he would have received for his full work.

A priest dying after the rite of Prâtaḥsavana (libation of Soma during Sutya ceremony) is entitled to three-fourths of what he would have received for his full work.

¹ For the above, *vide* Bk. III, pp. 185, 186, Arthaśâstra.

A priest dying after the rite of Madhyandina is entitled to the whole share, for by that time the sacrificial fees are all paid.

In every sacrifice except Brīhaspatisavana the sacrificial fee is paid.

The above rules also apply to the fees paid during the series of sacrificial days called Aharganya.

During the ten days immediately following the death of an officiating priest, his work is performed either by those who are given their dues from the remnants of the offerings after the share of the deceased is paid, or by those who enjoyed his confidence.¹

The death of the sacrificer himself must not put an untimely stop to the sacrifice: the priests are bound to finish it. The desertion of a priest or a sacrificer, one by the other, is punished with the first amercement. If the priest be a Brāhmaṇa who does not maintain a perpetual sacred fire, he is fined 100 paṇas, while the head priest and the sacrificer are each fined 1000 paṇas for such offence.

¹ The time-limit is ten days, because the near relatives of the deceased remain in mourning during the period. They continue the work after the lapse of the period.

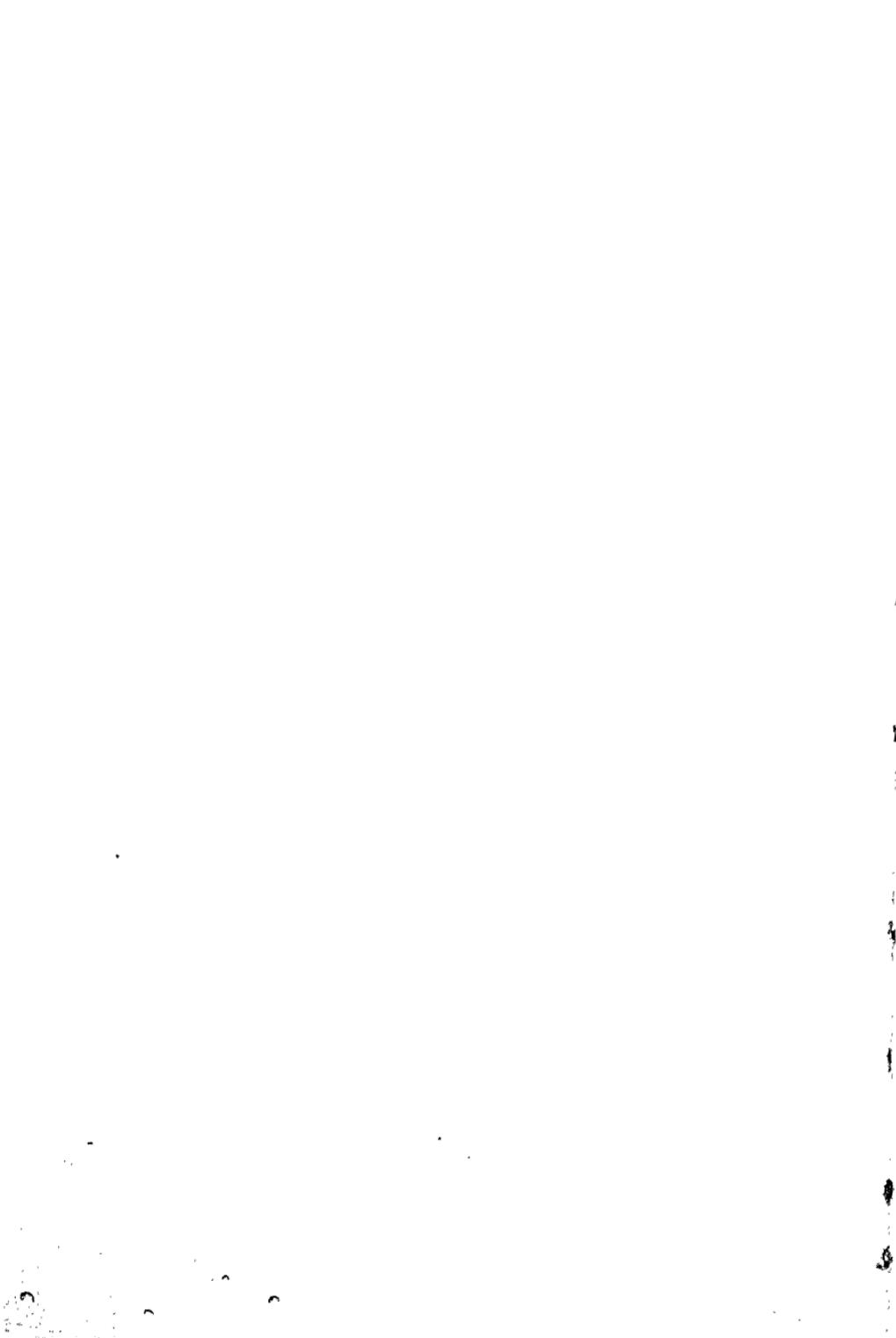
As a sacrifice is defiled if an officiating priest happens to be the husband of a Śûdra wife, a thief, spirit-drinker, Brâhmaṇ-slayer, violator of teacher's bed, or receiver of condemned gifts, it is no offence to dispense with his services.¹

Contracts of common interest.

If preparations are made for a public entertainment, an individual may help it up at will, either by subscription or otherwise; but in case he does not join it, then he and his dependents lose the right of enjoying it. Seeing or hearing stealthily at the place of entertainment is punishable with fines.²

¹ For the above, *vide* Bk. III, p. 186, Arthaśâstra.

² Bk. III, p. 173, Arthaśâstra.



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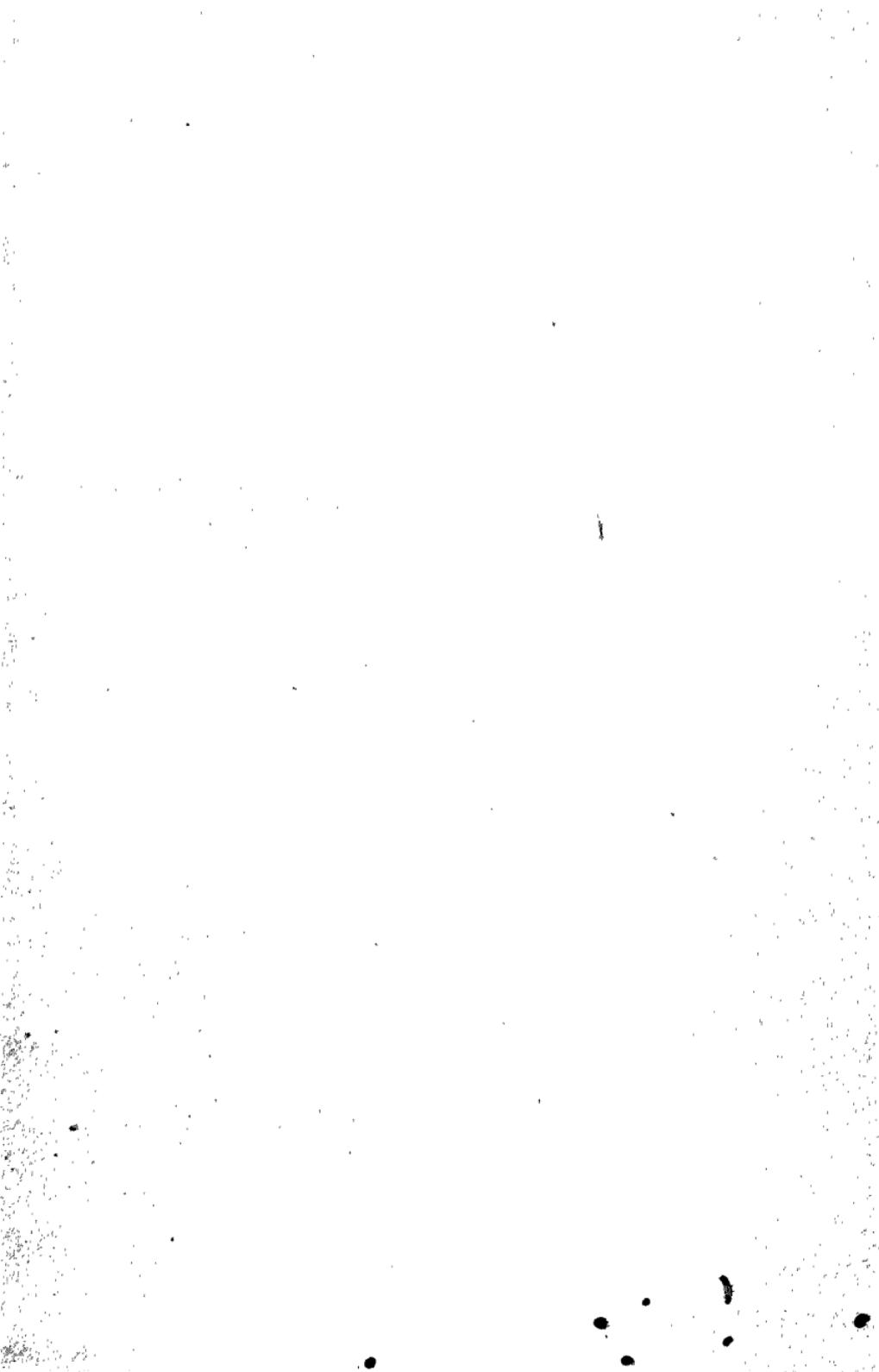
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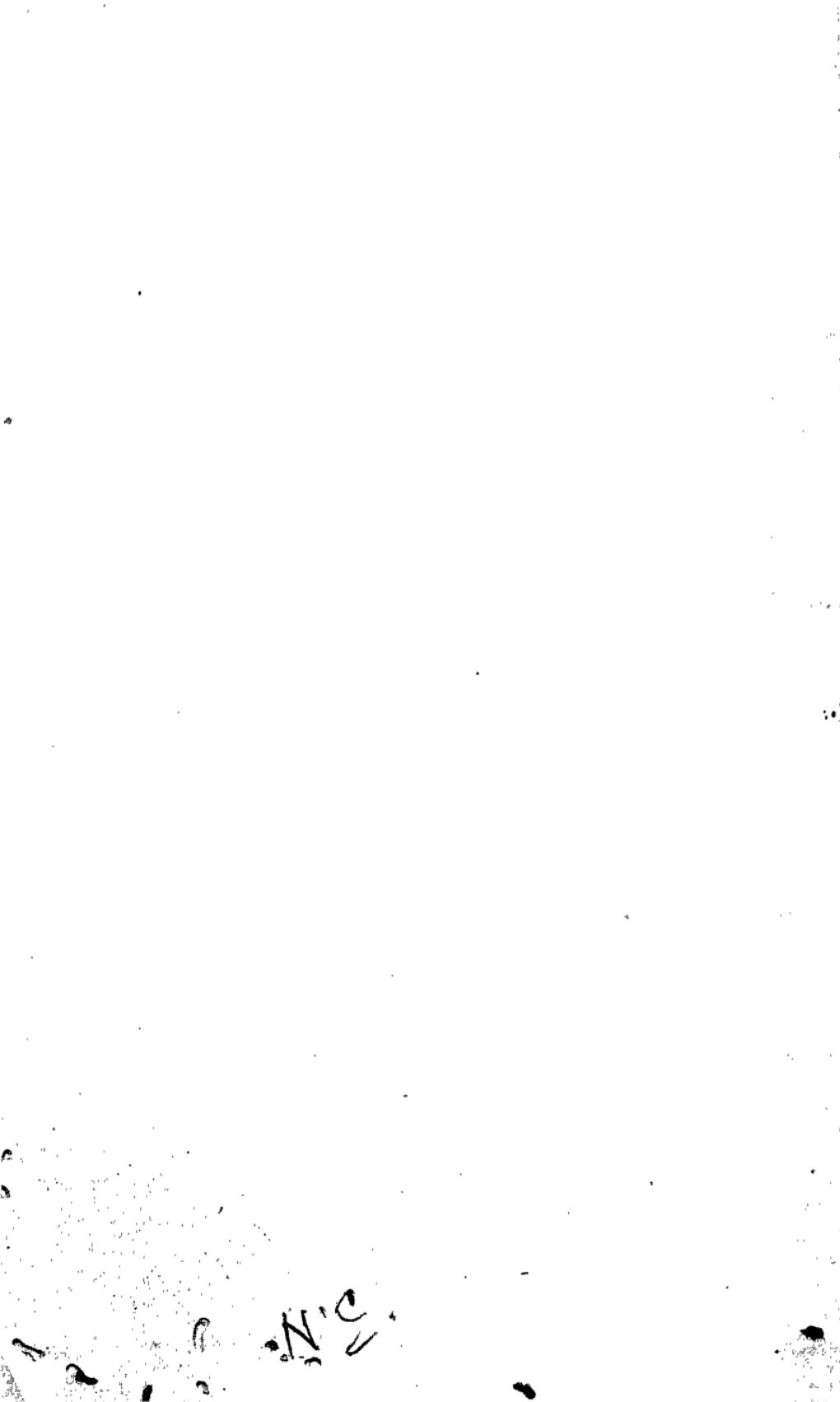
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